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Marxism Today

Theoretical and Discussion Journal of the Communist Party

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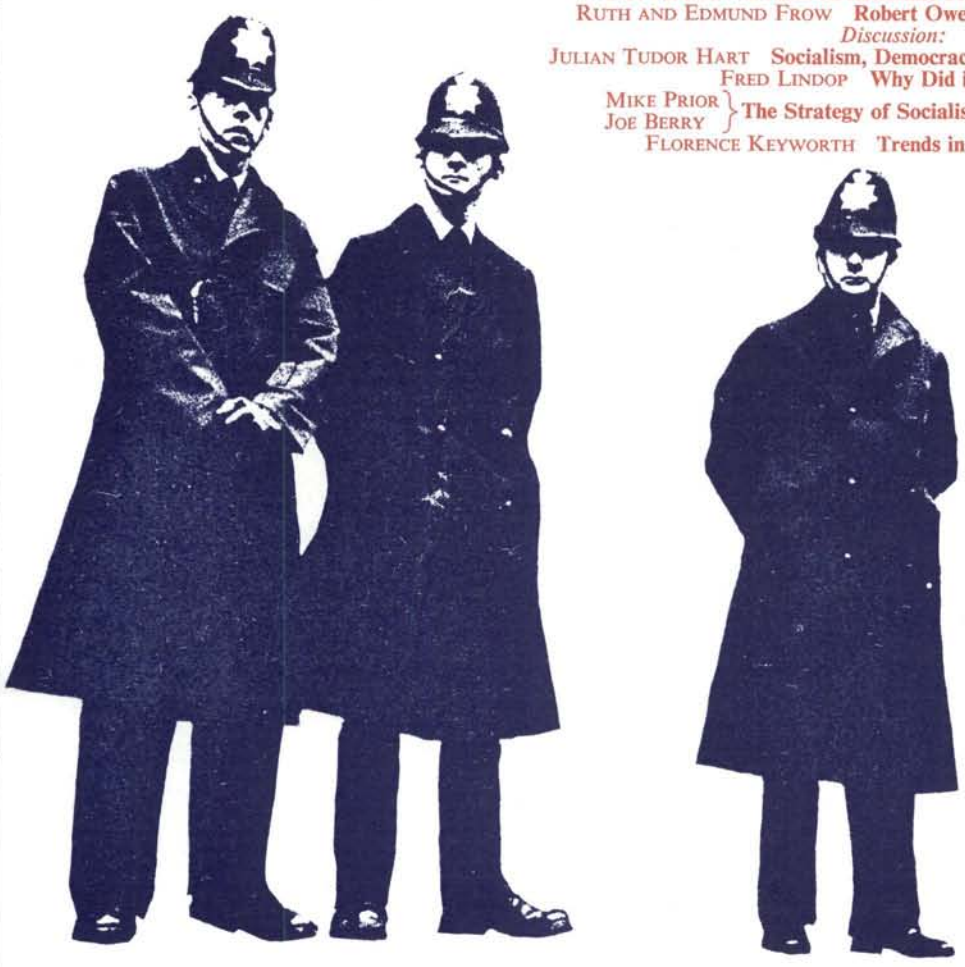

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MARXISM TODAY

THEORETICAL AND DISCUSSION JOURNAL OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Volume 15 Number 5

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Editorial Comments

WE ARE JUST receiving, as we go to press, the first reports of the main speeches delivered at the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

It is not possible to do justice in these short notes to the opening report of Comrade Leonid Brezhnev.[1]

He spoke near the beginning of his speech of the growing co-operation in the economic field between the different socialist countries.

In the last five years more than 300 industrial and agricultural projects were built or reconstructed in the socialist countries with the technical assistance of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union in this period met around 70 per cent or more of the import requirements of the Comecon countries and Cuba in some of the key forms of raw materials and fuel as well as, to a large extent, those of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Korean People's Democratic Republic.

More and more the Comecon countries are putting their economic relations on a long term basis and co-ordinating their national economic plans for 1971-75.

The second section of the Friendship Oil Pipeline, he reported, was now being laid. In the first year of its operation (1964) it had carried over 8 million tons of oil, whereas, by 1975, it was estimated that fraternal countries would receive nearly 50 millions. A gas pipeline of unprecedented size was being laid from Siberia to the European part of the USSR, and this would be able to deliver gas to Czechoslovakia, Poland, the GDR, Bulgaria and Hungary.

In the past five-year period the industrial output of the Comecon countries increased by 49 per cent.

But still more was needed:

> "like other members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, we believe that the possibilities of the socialist division of labour are not yet being utilised to the full.
>
> "Practice has led us to this common conclusion: it is necessary to deepen specialisation and co-operation in production and to tie in our national economic plans more closely, that is to say, to advance along the path of the economic integration of the socialist countries. This is an important and necessary task."

SOVIET DEMOCRACY

We wrote in our last issue of the Draft Directives of the 1971-75 Five Year Plan drawn up by the Central Committee for submission to the Congress. Leonid Brezhnev spoke at length on the economic achievements of the Soviet Union and plans for further advances; in particular he spoke of plans for raising the standard of living, increasing over five years by 40 per cent the social consumption funds, extending the building of housing, lifting the production of food and of consumer goods in general.

He spoke of problems of management and economic planning and then passed on to questions of socialist democracy:

> "The people's participation in economic management is not confined to resolving economic problems . . . A broader approach has to be taken towards this in view of the role which our party and the Soviet State are playing in economic management. Their policy, including their economic policy, is dictated by the basic interests of the working people. It is worked out by representatives of the working people in the elected bodies, with the masses of the people participating on a wide scale in the discussion of major plans and decisions. The working people are also taking an active part in *supervising the fulfilment of these decisions.* The party will continue to promote all these forms of socialist democracy."

Our success in economic development and the raising of living standards, Brezhnev continued, will depend in the long run on people:

> "The guarantee of further achievement in building communism lies in the conscious and persevering labour of workers, peasants and intellectuals, of our party, government, trade union and economic cadres.
>
> "That is precisely why our economic programme must be reinforced by broad party-organisational, political, ideological and educational work that can set in motion all the gigantic forces inherent in the socialist system and in Soviet man, who combines the remarkable features of fighter, worker and creator."

The Party carried out, he continued, during the period under review, much work aiming at improving the political organisation of Soviet society:

> "The principle orientation of this work—in accordance with the tasks of building communism—

[1] The full text of the Report by Brezhnev will be published by Novosti Press Agency under the title "Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU".

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has been and continues to be the further development of socialist democracy."

Questions of democracy he said "are now at the centre of the ideological and political struggle between the world of socialism and the world of capitalism". Bourgeois ideologists and revisionists, raise "a hypocritical hue and cry, alleging that we have no democracy:

> "But their concern is not for socialism, of course. They would like to get us back to bourgeois practices, and, therefore, are trying to force bourgeois democracy on us, a democracy for the exploiters, which is alien to the interests of the people.
>
> "That is a vain and futile venture. Soviet people have their own democracy, a socialist democracy, with their own principles and traditions for developing it. There is no freedom in general, just as there is no democracy in general. This is a class concept. That is how Lenin put the question, and that is how our Party puts it today.
>
> "We see the meaning and content of socialist democracy in the increasingly broad participation of the masses of the people in the administration of State and Social affairs. In our country the entire political system of society and the steadily growing initiative of the people serve the building of communism. This kind of democracy is vital to us and it is an indispensable condition for the development and consolidation of socialist social relations.
>
> "One of the Party's constant concerns is that our socialist democracy should steadily develop and that every person should feel he is a citizen in the full sense of the word, a citizen interested in the cause of the whole country and bearing his share of the responsibility. The Party will continue to carry out this policy in a consistent way."

POLISH COMMUNISTS IN SESSION

Very frank discussions took place at the Eighth Plenum of the Central committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, held in Warsaw on February 6th-7th, 1971. The session closed with an important statement by Edward Gierek, the new First Secretary of the Party, who made an extremely critical review of the causes of last December's events and outlined recommendations for a radical improvement in the work of the Party.

The meeting decided to speed up the convening of the Sixth Party Congress "which will map out the country's prospect of development and the programme for further construction of socialism in conditions of socialist democracy, in accordance with the interests and aspirations of the working class and the nation."

The full text of Edward Gierek's speech has been published in the Information Bulletin of the Polish Party.[2] He discussed, first, what he considered to be the direct causes of last December's events in which, he reported, a total of 45 people were killed and 1,165 wounded (including 564 civilians, 531 members of the Citizens' Militia and 70 soldiers and officers):

> "The December events were a direct outcome of the rise in the prices of basic foodstuffs made on December 12, 1970 . . . introduced without the indispensable compensation for families with the lowest earnings, who felt the rise most painfully."

Why did the workers' protest in the coastal town become so explosive? One of the main reasons in comrade Gierek's opinion was that:

> "no effective political steps were taken to end the tension. Evaluations of the situation and practical steps were limited solely and exclusively to the use of force . . . Use of force and force alone became in practice the only answer to a workers' demonstration. And this not only produced no solution to the conflict, but quite the reverse—it led to its aggravation, deepening and expansion; it simply threatened disaster."

Of course, comrade Gierek continued, the Government might be obliged to use "all indispensable measures in the defence of law and social order, in defence of citizens' life and public property, in the struggle against anti-social and anarchistic elements, against hostile elements."

But, he continued:

> "It was not *they* who constituted the main currents of the December crisis. Attempts at solving the conflict with the working class by the use of force—deeply contradictory to the principles of socialism—could only lead to bloodshed, open a chasm between the Peoples' Government and the nation, and opened the field to the activity of really reactionary and anti-social forces."

GOVERNMENT, PARTY AND PEOPLE

But the December 1970 events had deeper, more fundamental causes. It had in Edward Gierek's words been "smouldering for many years"; its roots were both economic and political:

> "one of its causes was the weakening and, finally, a profound violation of the bond between the Party leadership on the one hand and the working class and other strata of the working people on the other, a bond that is indispensable to our system. For a long time there was a growing and widening dissatisfaction with the economic and social policy, with the methods of management of the affairs of the party and the State. The dissatisfaction turned into a crisis of confidence in the party and government leadership."

But there were also, in Gierek's estimation, deep problems *within* the Party and in the relation of its leaders to its members:

[2] *Information Bulletin of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party*. No. 2, February 1971, Warsaw.

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"The leadership, having lost its ties with the Party, and having failed to utilise its tremendous wealth of political forces, imposed administrative methods of activity upon the Party. To an ever-increasing extent personnel policy was also subordinated to those methods, the results of which was the limitation of independence and initiative . . .

"The fact was that the Party leadership in fact usurped many functions, rightfully belonging to the Government, weakened and deformed its role of political leadership. The boundaries of responsibility of both institutions and individuals had become obscured. The role of the Political Bureau, Secretariat and the Central Committee itself had been reduced. In their place there grew up a so-called strict leadership group.

"During the December events the Political Bureau was not called into session until, under pressure from its members, the sixth day, i.e. December 19th."

Along with extremely frank and strong criticisms of deep shortcomings in the work of the Party, Edward Gierek and other members of the Central Committee recommended a whole series of measures, economic and political, short-term and long-term, radically to change the situation.

Our Party declared Gierek:

"must find ways and guarantees to protect itself from the deformation of methods of leadership and from autocratic tendencies. Such guarantees, tried and tested in the Communist Movement, are: conforming to statutory principles and norms, a moral-political climate, the freedom of meaningful discussion and the courage to criticise, the proper recruitment of personnel and their ideological, political and professional moral values and mentality."

He was convinced, he said, that all the internal and external conditions existed for successful socialist construction in Poland in the future and for strengthening the bond between the Party and the people.

DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM

In September last year Santiago Carrillo addressed an extended plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain, of which he is General Secretary.

The French publishers, *Editions Sociales*, have now re-published (in Spanish) the full text of this speech under the title *Libertad y Socialismo.*

It is described in a foreword of the Communist Party of France as "an essential document for all who wish to understand what is taking place in Spain, our neighbour, and the process of decomposition of the fascist dictatorship, and of the birth of the future Spanish democracy".

Carrillo's report is presented in four parts. The first, "Towards the Pact for Freedom", describes the profound changes today taking place in Spain, the disintegration of the fascist regime, and contains an important analysis of the position in the army. It also explains the Party's proposal for a Pact for Freedom:

"The Communist Party proposes a Pact for Freedom, i.e. the unity of all those without exception who oppose the regime to restore to the people their democratic liberties".

In the second chapter on "The Communist Party in the Struggle for Liberty", Carrillo analyses strong and weak sides of Party work over the previous decades, describes the process of "coming to the surface" or fighting for legality, for what he calls "zones of liberty", discusses problems of the Party such as struggling under the repression, relations of old and young generations, etc.

The third section is devoted to problems of the "Struggle for Socialism".

It is necessary, Carrillo argues, to investigate, to discover and understand what is specific to the road of advance to socialism in Spain. This section includes an interesting analysis of the role of the Spanish People's Front in the 30's and how far it can be seen as a forerunner of the present struggle for democracy.

The last section discusses "Our Proletarian Internationalism", including the fight against the supra-national firms, and against the US neo-colonialist exploitation of Spain.

In the first section of his speech Carrillo answers critics who argue that the fight for democracy in Spain could divert the people from the fight for socialism. In fact, he argues, such a fight *in no way* has this effect:

"because the fight for democracy is a first phase of an uninterrupted process of fight for socialism.

"Are we, by fighting for an alternative of democratic liberties, laying ourselves open to the the accusation that we have renounced the dictatorship of the proletariat?

"This is not so, for the automatic replacement of the dictatorship of Franco by a dictatorship of the proletariat is, in the real state of affairs in Spain today, not possible.

"Is the replacement of the Franco dictatorship by a democratic regime in substance a step backward by us or the acceptance of positions that are today adopted by the big bourgeoisie?"

"Who benefits most", he argues, "from political liberty?", and he answers:

"The proletariat and the new forces and, in general, the popular masses, who lack today all rights of organisation and action. This should be the ABC for every revolutionary".

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Later he adds:

> "We conceive of the victory of socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, in this epoch, in our country, not as the abolition of political liberties and democracy, but as their extension and development on the fundamental basis of collective property in the means of production and exchange. Whoever under-estimates or denigrates the value of political liberties in Spain today is, consciously or unconsciously, helping to maintain the dictatorship of the oligarchy".

Earlier speeches and articles of Santiago Carrillo, published recently by Lawrence & Wishart under the title "Problems of Socialism Today" have been received with great interest. Perhaps it will be possible to publish a translation of this speech. In any case, we hope to print a section of it in a subsequent issue of *Marxism Today.*

IRAQI COMMUNIST CONGRESS

British Communists, who have always worked in conditions of legality, are used to the idea of having regular and frequent Party Congresses. In fact our next Congress in November 1971 will be our thirty-second in 51 years.

The Communist Party of Iraq has not had the advantage of the same legal conditions, and in fact, ever since it was founded on March 31st, 1934, it has faced conditions of illegality and open repression. Over this period two of its General Secretaries have been killed, one being executed during the regime of Nuri Said and the other being murdered by fascist thugs after the downfall of President Kassim.

This Party which has had so many martyrs, was able last September to hold its Second Congress in 36 years. During the intervening years three Party Conferences have been held, but the Iraqi comrades regard it as an important victory that they were able last September to hold their second Congress which was attended by 102 elected delegates.

The Congress took place in the midst of a new round of persecutions against the Party, indicated by the fact that two of the elected delegates were assassinated on the eve of the Congress and a third was kidnapped and is now believed to have been killed.

It is understandable therefore that, at the centre of the pre-occupations of the Congress, was the question of the struggle for democratic rights, including the right of all patriotic parties to have legal existence and openly carry on their activity.

Since the Congress there has been news of further repressions, including the brutal murder of two leading Communists, one a well-known peasant leader and the other a former student leader. On behalf of the British Communist Party John Gollan has repeatedly protested to the President of Iraq about the wave of terror against Iraqi Communists and other democrats and has demanded an end to the repression, the removal and punishment of those responsible and the immediate release of all political prisoners. The most recent letter on this subject to the President of Iraq on the was sent 27th January, 1971.

An article in a recent issue of *Comment* contains a full summary of the proceedings of the Second Congress of the Iraqi Communist Party.

IRELAND HER OWN

Lawrence and Wishart published in March a new paperback edition (£1.00) of *Ireland Her Own,* by T. A. Jackson, re-edited and with a new concluding chapter added by C. Desmond Greaves. Described as "an outline history of the Irish struggle for national freedom and independence", this book was originally published in 1947 by the Cobbett Press. It was the last book Tommy Jackson wrote, and in many ways his best. It comprehends Irish history as a whole, and does for Ireland what A. L. Morton's *People's History* does for England.

The new paperback is especially valuable on account of the new chapter added by the editor. Desmond Greaves, in a brilliantly lucid Epilogue of fifty pages, brings the history up to the present day with an account of developments, economic and political, since Partition.

Ireland Her Own makes clear the whole story of Ireland from the earliest known times, opening with a chapter on "Ancient Ireland". The English Conquest began with the Norman kings and was virtually completed by William of Orange five hundred years later. By then Ireland was reduced to the status of England's first colony, a poverty-stricken and bitterly repressed and exploited territory where the English rulers first tried out and perfected the methods of rule they subsequently practised elsewhere. "From now on", writes Tommy Jackson, having come to this point, "we are concerned with the Re-Conquest of Ireland by the Irish Nation . . . the process is not yet complete".

With extraordinary lucidity, not least in the way the connection of economic with political development is shown, he leads

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the reader through the struggles of the Volunteers and the United Irishmen, the great rising of 1798, the Act of Union, the Tithe War, the movement for Catholic Emancipation and Repeal of the Union, the Fenians, the Land League, Home Rule and the Home Rule Crisis, the Easter Rising of 1916, *Sinn Fein* and the establishment of *Dail Eireann,* up to the war with England ending with the Treaty, the Partition of Ireland, and the establishment of the Free State which later became the Republic of Ireland. From that point the story is carried on in the "epilogue" by Desmond Greaves.

The conclusion of this whole history is best set out in the words with which Tommy Jackson concluded it:

> "Partition was imposed by the rulers of England to serve their class ends. . . . Partition has established vested interests, on either side of its dividing line. It is reinforced on either side by a mass of inculcated prejudices. . . . It must be ended by the common agreement of all parties concerned—the Common People in the Six Counties, the Twenty-six, and in England. . . . In this effort we can, and will, realise the prophecy of James Connolly: 'In our movement North and South will again clasp hands, and again it will be demonstrated, as in '98, that the pressure of a common exploitation will make enthusiastic rebels out of a Protestant working class, enthusiastic champions of civil and religious liberty out of Catholics, and out of both a united Socialist democracy' ".

BRITAIN IN THE NINETEEN THIRTIES

For many of the older generation of socialists "the 'thirties" is a subject of memory and nostalgia. Many, remembering the great unemployed struggles, the struggle against fascism, and the elan of some of the new writing of the period, are wont to think "those were the days!" For a younger generation the thirties is a subject of history—and to a great extent a history of lost causes. Both can turn with profit to *Britain in the Thirties,* by Noreen Branson and Margot Heinemann, just published in paperback,[3] in order to recollect or find out how people actually lived in that famous decade, and what they actually did.

The thirties was a period of passage between one great catastrophe and another—between the devastating economic crisis that started from the New York stock market crash in 1929 and the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939. This book shows with a wealth of factual detail how people fared in those years. It goes in considerable detail into the situation in industry, the wage rates, the incidence of unemployment and the actual conditions of life of the unemployed, the state of the social services; it details the policies of the Tory-dominated governments of the period; it shows the impact on the British people of the rise of fascism in Germany and of the war in Spain; and, finally, it shows how different sections of people reacted to all this, in the fields of organisation and politics, and in intellectual and cultural life. The review taken is, indeed, pretty systematic and comprehensive: for instance, changing fashions in clothes and furniture are described, and the impact on everyday life of the growing production of automobiles.

This book will be of value both by way of dissipating relics of romantic mythology about the thirties in the cold light of facts, and simultaneously by refuting the idea often put about since that the struggles a minority of activists undertook in those days were all in vain. "There was more to the thirties than the downward slither into war and the failure of the left to arrest it," the authors conclude. "The movements of resistance and protest against poverty and fascism did not simply die away with the outbreak of war. The changes begun in those bitter years, though only to be seen clearly much later, were real and irreversible."

INTELLIGENCE, PSYCHOLOGY AND EDUCATION

This month Lawrence and Wishart are publishing a collection of Professor Brian Simon's writings on education and educational theory.[4] During the last twenty years these writings, including several first published in *Marxism Today,* have made a contribution to the struggle for educational advance in this country the importance of which has become increasingly evident.

The volume commences with the republication of the book *Intelligence Testing and the Comprehensive School* which in 1953 played a decisive part in the campaign for the development of comprehensive education. It is difficult to overestimate the contribution this book made to the clarification and sharpening of progressive ideas about education. It concentrated attention on the nature of the class-divided system of educa-

[3] *Britain in the Thirties*, Noreen Branson and Margot Heinemann. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. Paperback £1.50; hardback £4.00.

[4] *Intelligence, Psychology and Education: a Marxist Critique.* Brian Simon. Lawrence and Wishart, £3.

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tion in Britain, made a devastating attack on both the theory and the practice of the notorious eleven-plus examination in the schools, and set forth clearly and simply the case for comprehensive education.

The second part of the volume contains articles and lectures elaborating the principles of comprehensive education, and demolishing the "last ditch" arguments which reactionaries have put up for the divided system. Together with these are papers on educational psychology, including a very informative one on Soviet work in this field.

In an Introduction and an Epilogue specially written for this volume Professor Simon surveys the main issues over which battle has been joined in the field of educational theory and practice, and discusses prospects for the future. That battle is still very far from being over. This new volume will prove of the greatest service in it.

MORE ON THE PARIS COMMUNE

In our March issue, devoted to the Paris Commune, we promised to keep our readers informed of further publications treating the history or the lessons of this great event.

La Nouvelle Critique and *L'Ecole et le Nation* have collaborated to produce a magnificent special issue under the title "Experience and Language of the Paris Commune".[5] Beautifully illustrated, it contains articles by André Wurmser ("The Commune when I was young"); Maurice Moissonier (translated in our March issue); Louis Guilbert ("The Formation of the Name 'Paris Commune' in the Speech of Marx". This is a linguistic study); Georges Cogniot ("Educational Achievements of the Commune"); Serge Wolikow ("Teachers and the Commune"); Jacques Girault ("Students and the Commune". We hope if space allows to publish part of this article); Jean Bruhat ("Interpretations of the Commune"); Etya Sorel ("The Commune in School Textbooks"), and François Hincker ("Some Notes for a Course on the Commune").

The March issue of *Cahiers du Communisme* is also devoted to the Commune.

We are informed that Lissagaray's famous history of the Commune, first published in English, translated by Eleanor Marx, in 1886, has been reprinted by the Monthly Review Press.

Finally, we should like to inform our readers that we have now received the article by Professor Bruhat, announced for our March issue, but delayed by the postal strike. We hope to have it translated in time for the June issue, when we shall also complete publication of the article by Stanley Hutchins on "The Communard Exiles in Britain".

COMMUNE CENTENARY IN PARIS

Those who would like to join the united mass march and demonstration at the Père Lachaise cemetery in Paris, to commemorate the centenary of the Commune, may still find places available on a special weekend flight on May 21st-23rd. The demonstration has been jointly called by the Communists, the Socialists, and the other left formations in France to honour the memory and the great achievements of those who fell at the Mur des Fédérés.

Those taking part will have first-class accommodation in a "Maison de la Culture" at Colombes, where a Socialist-Communist joint list took control of the municipality from the Gaullists in 1967. The programme will include a visit to the Communist municipality of Aubervilliers, where there will be a discussion with leading councillors, visits to housing, sports, youth and cultural facilities (including the well-known "Theâtre de la Commune") and a reception at the Mairie.

On the Saturday afternoon the British group will be received at the Institut Maurice Thorez, the Marxist study centre, for a talk and discussion in English on the Commune and its significance for today. This will be followed by an evening at a musical show, a free Sunday morning, and the march to Père Lachaise before flying home to London.[6]

[5] "Expérience et Language de la Commune de Paris", *La Nouvelle Critique*, Numéro Spécial, Paris, 15 francs.

[6] The inclusive cost of the arrangements is £15. Enquiries should be directed to Progressive Tours Ltd., 100 Rochester Row, London, S.W.1 (01-834 3981) who can also supply information on a similar weekend visit to the "Fete de l'Humanité" in Paris from September 10th-12th.

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The Effects of Imperialism upon Britain

Ron Bellamy

(*The author is Senior lecturer in Economics, University of Leeds*)

This is an appropriate time to consider the effects of imperialism upon Britain's present and future. A prolonged phase of Stop in the not-so-magic roundabout of Stop-Go, combined with rising productivity, is raising the level of unemployment to the highest level since 1940. The volume of retail sales has, since 1967, risen hardly faster than our population. Attempts to set out a stall attractive to the reactionaries of Western Europe as a basis for taking Britain into EEC are producing the sharpest attacks on the working class since at least the 1930's.

Alongside the continued servile collaboration in every anti-democratic act of the United States, British governments welcome the increased take-over of key sectors of our economic life by American monopolies. Hence, while one should insist, as always on Marx's dictum that "By cowardly giving way in their everyday conflict with capital, they (the workers) would certainly disqualify themselves for the initiating of any larger movement", that conflict will be the more effective the more it gives attention to causes as well as to symptoms. The causes have for a century lain in imperialism; today they lie in British imperialism at an advanced stage of decay, when its relations of production not only poison our political and social life, but debilitate our productive forces and stifle their growth.

Analysis of the effects of imperialism upon its metropolitan centres is well established in Marxist thought. We propose to examine Lenin's own theory, its development in the period between the world wars, after the emergence of the Soviet Union, and finally, in greater detail, some new features since 1945.

Growth of Monopoly Capitalism

First, imperialism is monopoly capitalism. Relations of rivalry between capitalists began to shift their arena from the internal market of individual countries to the world market. Monopolists were therefore increasingly involved in relations outside their own countries. The export of capital, which springs from monopoly, extended capitalist domination over peoples and countries previously outside the orbit of capitalist relations. The old inter-capitalist relationship, now on a world scale, and the newer relation between metropolitan and dependent countries (or more generally between dominating and dominated countries) are the *external* relations of monopoly capital. Its internal relations have a *relatively* independent development, governed by the law of the concentration and centralisation of capital.

This continues the polarisation of society into capitalists and wage workers, destroying in the process the self-employed, middle and even large capitalists. But the internal relations are influenced by the external relations—the higher rate of return on exported capital hastens the process of centralisation itself.

The rival monopolists grow in size and divide up the world. Further expansion for each can be only at the expense of the others. As the level and scale of the struggle grows, so the weapons are transformed from economic to political and military. Monopoly capital links with the state, and inter-imperialist rivalry becomes inter-imperialist war.

Forms of Imperialist Domination

This is familiar ground. But today's scene requires, secondly, that we examine more carefully (and not only in the context of the present argument) Lenin's specific rejection of the view that capital was exported only to the agrarian and under-developed regions of the world:

> "The characteristic feature of imperialism is precisely that it strives to annex *not only* agrarian territories, but even the most highly industrialised regions (German appetite for Belgium; French appetite for Lorraine) because (1) the fact that the world is already partitioned obliges those contemplating a *redivision* to reach out for *every kind* of territory, and (2) an essential feature of imperialism is the rivalry between several great powers in the striving for hegemony, i.e. for the conquest of territory not so much directly for themselves as to weaken an adversary and undermine his hegemony."

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Lenin also noted that alongside colonialism, the most typical form of imperialist domination of his time:

> "a number of transitional forms of state dependence . . . the diverse forms of dependent countries which politically are formally independent, but in fact are enmeshed in the net of financial and diplomatic dependence, are typical of this epoch . . . Relations of this kind have always existed between big and little states, but in the epoch of capitalist imperialism they become a general system, they form part and parcel of 'divide the world' relations, and become links in the operation of world finance capital". (*Collected Works*, Vol. 22, pp. 262-263).

"Parasitic Capitalism"

The third aspect of imperialism which also requires special attention today is that it is "parasitic capitalism, capitalism in decay". Neither of these terms is mere abuse: they have exact, scientific content. The first cause of decay is monopoly itself. Capitalism, in the eyes of its greatest critic, Marx, had performed two vital roles in its competitive stage. On the one hand, like all exploitative modes of production, it had extracted a surplus from the labour of those who produced: but, unlike earlier exploitative societies, its economic structure—individual property ownership and commodity production—compelled the devotion of that surplus, not, as in earlier class societies, to the luxury consumption of the minority, but to the continuous accumulation of means of production.

On the other side, rivalry between capitalists compelled technical progress, whose material embodiment was the accumulating stock of means of production. For, with free entry for new competitors into any branch of production, abnormal profit could be made—and temporarily at that—only by superior technique of production. The law of survival for each and every capitalist was —accumulate, advance technique, or perish.

With monopolistic market structures, entry in to each branch of production is no longer free; monopoly rests upon power to restrict entry, to control supply, to keep prices at a level, in relation to costs, so that more or less permanent abnormal profits are possible. Thus a new basis for abnormal profits is constructed, stable so long as the position of privilege, once established, can be maintained. Hence the drive to technical progress is relatively weaker, to the extent that it is no longer the *sole* passport to heaven.

This should not be interpreted to mean (as has sometimes been done) that the rate of technical progress or the rate of economic growth are lower than they were before. What it does mean is that, by comparison with the *new potentialities* offered by large scale production, by the growth in the social division of labour, not only in production proper, but in the new specialised branches, education and science, the *actual performance* of monopoly capitalism lags behind.

Preserving Privileged Positions

Hence, also, resources which, in the pre-monopoly stage, went into new accumulation of means of production, now go into the expenses of consumption involved in maintaining privileged positions. As rivalry in the struggle for world monopolistic domination increases, such consumption expenditures escalate from those for advertising, to those for support at the state level, and finally to military expenditure for war itself. In Britain as much is spent on advertising as on scientific research and development. But more important, the main imperialist countries are now spending, as a chronic phenomenon even in "peace-time", as much on military effort as on new accumulation.

From a historical perspective, monopoly capitalism can be seen to revert to the characteristic of pre-capitalist economies, namely the use of society's surplus product for consumption, whose aim is the preservation of the privileged position of the monopoly ruling class. It can hardly be accident that the slowest rates of growth in the developed capitalist countries since World War II have been found precisely in those countries with the biggest overseas investments to protect, namely the United States and Britain. Industrial capitalist society began with attack of the capitalists, and of the progressive bourgeois science of Ricardo, upon rent, the source of the parasitic consumption of landowners, and the barrier to capitalist accumulation. Capitalist society ends with the attack by humanity's new Prometheus, the working class, and its Marxist theory, heir to Ricardo, upon the parasitic private and state consumption of state monopoly capitalism. There is, however a difference. The landlords did no more than consume the products of other people's labour: monopoly capitalism uses them to destroy the producers themselves.

Rentiers and Rentier States

The second cause of parasitism is the emergence within the imperialist states of a class of rentiers, and of rentier imperialist states. A considerable part of the surplus product of countries overseas (flowing to Britain as profits, interest and dividends on the accumulated stock of overseas investments) is not accumulated but consumed in that rentier belt from the West End to Bournemouth, where the proportion of income which comes from property is higher than the average for Britain as a whole. Even in the capitalist sense, this social

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group is functionless: it consumes, not accumulates.[1]

Third, in the dominated countries overseas, that part of the internal surplus which remains in the hands of indigenous owners is diverted to less productive forms of accumulation, or away from accumulation altogether. Small-scale capital cannot compete with the giant investments of foreign firms; it leaks away into petty trade, into money lending, or into real estate. Or, denied profitable fields for investment, it is consumed. Further, when newly independent governments attempt state accumulation on the scale required to build viable modern enterprises, they meet with every economic and political obstacle from the monopolists, their governments and their (mis-called) "international financial institutions".[2]

The effects of the retarded development of the Third World upon the growth of world trade and therefore upon the export markets of the metropolitan countries themselves is more noticeable now that the flow of capital investments from them has begun to dry up. This "aid", supposed to set the underdeveloped countries on the road to growth, has in fact been a main cause of their inability to use their independence for basic structural change, to transform their distorted and export-oriented monocultures. Now they cannot increase their earnings from traditional exports, their power to buy falls. For Britain in particular a rapid growth of world trade is the most favourable climate in which to make long overdue changes in our economic structure. By holding back that trade, imperialism is a barrier to British advance.

Imperialism and Opportunism

Fourth, imperialism is not only an economic system, but also a political, military and ideological one. By destroying tens of millions of human beings, imperialist war destroys the most creative of all productive forces, human labour. Through chauvinist, elitist and racist ideas imperialism generates within the metropolitan countries themselves an ideology used to justify deprivation and oppression of the working class.

Finally, also within the imperialist countries themselves, the inflow of abnormal profits from abroad has created—for too long—the possibility for some privileged sections of the working class to collaborate in and defend imperialist exploitation and to share in its proceeds. These short-term advantages for a minority of the class have had a double price—the slaughter and danger of slaughter of the class in imperialist war and, even if that danger recedes, the destruction of the unity of the class, without which it cannot emancipate itself from capitalism. For this opportunism the British working class has paid terribly. The weakening of opportunism's material basis is therefore a matter of crucial importance.

The Inter-War Period

The inter-war period opened with the expenditure of men and resources by a war-weary and economically exhausted Britain in the joint attempts to overthrow the new socialist republic. When such attempts turned to fiasco, the policy of cordon sanitaire proceeded alongside the turning of British imperialism's attention to its self-preservation against its stronger imperialist rival, the United States, especially in the sphere of financial leadership. Since the export of capital is the key feature of imperialism, it is hardly surprising that at that time, as ever since, the British monopolists were prepared to sacrifice not only the welfare of the British people, but even the very growth of Britain's productive forces, to maintain capital export.

Slow Rate of Growth

Many earlier parallels to modern Stop-Go, to planned deflation, to attacks on wages, to rationalisation and productivity bargaining, can be found in the 1920's, with the identical result that Britain then, as in our times, had the slowest rate of growth of any major country in the capitalist world. Between 1921 and 1929 the average level of production was only 86 per cent, the level of employment only 88.6 per cent, and the level of exports only 79 per cent, of the level of 1913 (but, as an example of the parasitism of British imperialism, imports were 4 per cent above 1913). By 1925 production in Britain still stood at 86 per cent of 1913, with Germany at 95 per cent and USA at 148 per cent. By 1929 world production of food and raw materials grew, as compared with 1925, by 11 per cent, trade by 19 per cent, and output of manufactures by 26 per cent. Lest it be thought that this was due primarily to the countries not damaged by the war, we note that while Britain reached the 1913 level in manufacturing output by 1929, Germany was 17 per cent above 1913. In short, the 1920's were a period of boom everywhere except Britain.

[1] See Appendix.

[2] In a standard work, *International Monetary Policy*, London 1962, Mr. Scammell has written:

"Taking its career as a whole it is in the International Monetary Fund's policy with regard to the supply of international liquidity that American political influence has been most noticeable. Every request for accommodation has been carefully scrutinised, and in later years made subject to the pursuit of certain policies by the suppliant member—those policies bearing a striking identity with the official utterances of the American Treasury . . . There has been throughout a strong flavour of paternalism rather than of international co-operation motivating Fund decisions."

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The Fabian economist, W. A. Lewis, has summed up the causes (*Economic Survey*, p. 42):

> "The new phenomenon was that British exports should have lost ground in absolute terms, so that while world trade after 1925 exceeded the pre-war level, British exports remained smaller than before the war. This was hardly surprising when one compares the figures of export prices for 1927-1929 (1913=100)—France 101, Italy 149, Switzerland 149, but UK 162. This leaves no doubt that British export prices were too high . . . The consensus of opinion among economists was that in returning to the Gold Standard at the pre-war parity in 1925, sterling was overvalued by about 10 per cent . . . Was this also the explanation of the other problem that gave so much concern, namely the difficulty experienced in keeping on the Gold Standard? For most of this period the exchange value of the pound was slightly below par, and the Bank of England experienced difficulty in preventing an outflow of gold. This difficulty was not in the first instance due to an unfavourable balance on income account: exports and invisible items were more than enough to meet current liabilities. The cause of the difficulty was excessive lending (i.e. capital export RB), in the sense that the sums lent exceeded the current balance available. Monetary institutions in London had been geared to a high level of foreign investment before 1913. After 1925 Britain could not really afford to lend as much as she had been doing before 1913, but the machinery continued as before. The difference was met by attracting short-term funds to London for reinvestment abroad, and this short-term borrowing was destined to cause trouble in 1931, when money was suddenly recalled. Nevertheless, this too can be attributed to the over-valuation; for we can say that the trouble was not that Britain had lent too much, but that she had too little to lend. This is merely a difference of formulation. If the price level had been lower she could have lent more without difficulty (exports, and therefore the export surplus, would have been higher. RB); but given her price level, she was lending too much."

Capital Export

Lewis is far from questioning the *desirability* of imperialist policies of capital export or of remaining a world banker; he is questioning only its *feasibility*, or rather its feasibility *unless* something was done to bring down export prices and push up export earnings. To create that possibility, then as now, could always have been done by a cut in profit margins. Understandably, that was not the policy of a monopoly capitalist government. As usual

> "prices were to be reduced . . . by reducing money wages. The attempt to put this policy into practice produced a major social crisis . . . the disputes, strikes, lockouts associated with the subsequent capitalist offensive . . . were extraordinarily bitter and prolonged, and destined to poison industrial relations for another twenty years."

In 1928, in a period when there were undoubted problems of adjustment in the composition of Britain's productive forces to meet the new world structure of demand, British monopoly capitalism invested abroad some $560 million, a sum equal to one half of that exported by Britain's main imperialist rival the USA, who had no such problems. In short, this period of the 1920's demonstrates the way in which our patriots were prepared to sacrifice Britain and her people in an increasingly impossible attempt to recover the position as dominant financial power. Stagnation, unemployment, rationalisation, productivity agreements, backward productive forces at home and export of capital abroad—these are not new consequences of the policy of the British ruling class.

In the Thirties

But if the 1920's show the costs to the British people of one aspect of the antagonism between imperialisms, the 1930's show in political (as well as economic) form the costs of the new partnership against socialism which penetrated the mutual antagonism. The economic crisis of the early 1930's sharpened the inter-imperialist struggle for redivision of the world. It sharpened also the internal class struggle in all countries, especially Germany. It was clear also that the USSR was not going to fall apart: on the contrary—for while industrial production in the USA and Germany had fallen by 1932 to only 53 per cent of the 1929 level, that of the USSR had risen by 83 per cent.

The preparations for a new war of redivision naturally included among its more desirable, and unifying objectives, the dismemberment of the USSR. Any capitalist government which put this high upon its banner, especially if it was strong enough and close enough to be thought capable of implementing it, was understandably—especially if its policies were as anti-working class at home as they were anti-Soviet abroad—bound to be the darling of our ruling class. Alongside the more instinctive approval of the board rooms and clubs, there were no doubt more sober calculations that if in the process of a single-handed attack on the USSR, Germany were herself badly mauled, assistance—on suitable terms as to the share-out—could be offered later by the now cheering spectators.

Political support for Japan's aggression in China, for Mussolini's rape of Abyssinia, had no doubt the simpler explanation of one robber's sympathy for another. But support for Nazi Germany, through the Anglo-German Naval Treaty of 1935, the passivity over the invasion of the Rhineland in 1936, the farce of Non-Intervention to permit Nazi aggression in Spain, toleration of the invasion of Austria in 1938, and above all the betrayal of Czechoslovakia at Munich—these acts can find

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no rational explanation except in the above terms. Munichite policy abroad was of a piece with the attacks on the working class at home, with the Public Order Act, with connivance with Mosley's fascists.

The ruling class then was prepared to gamble with Britain's security while at the same time financing an insurance policy by increasing, in the later 1930's, the output of armaments and putting the burden of a three-fold increase in expenditure per head upon the people. When the gamble failed, Munichite policies remained none the less a *leit-motiv* throughout the war itself—at first in the blatant attempt to switch the war against the USSR over Finland, and later (when a section of the ruling class took fright at the consequences of Munich and under pressure from the anti-fascist sentiments of the majority of the people) in the prosecution of the war, not in the most effective way, but in a way which would give the greatest gains to British imperialism—to fight in the Middle East, in Southern Europe, in Burma and the Far East rather than to strike at the main centres of Nazi industrial and military potential.

The Period Since 1945

In the period since 1945, what features of the old pattern remain, in what ways has it been modified by new phenomena?

Britain's historical orientation towards overseas investment and struggle for spheres of influence faces new difficulties. Britain is now the fourth, not the first industrial power in the capitalist world, tailing increasingly behind Japan and West Germany, and with only one seventh of the output of the USA. This change in the balance of forces within the capitalist world is now reflected in Britain herself becoming financially dependent, a target for US investment and economic penetration.

Arising from this, a new problem can be seen, writ large in the US's own comparable one. For, though spending annually a sum equal to 40 per cent of the British national product on the Vietnam war, American imperialism is not able to win military victory over a country with one sixth its own population and with a national output only a tiny fraction of its own. That is a reflection of the military capacity of the socialist world to provide modern sophisticated weapons to match the courage and tenacity of the Vietnamese people. Yet typically before World War II imperialist powers could achieve subjugation successfully with little military cost to themselves or to their own people. British imperialism, in particular, used the troops (with a few British officers) of its other colonial territories for "punitive" or "police" operations, the cost falling mainly upon the colonial people themselves rather than upon the British taxpayer.

Cost of World Domination

If today the costs of attempting to maintain world wide domination are such as to cause enormous difficulties for the American economy, how much greater are they, even for more modest aims, for the much weaker British imperialism. The drain on US holdings of international means of payment through the foreign costs of the Vietnam war and the large overseas investment are universally admitted to be at the root of America's weakened financial position and of its fruits, the severe dollar crisis of March 1968. Internally within the US, the "external posture" has meant the sacrifice of the Poverty Programme, and the weakening of US industry's long term growth of efficiency through draining off all the best resources in science and technology to the war programme. How much more is this true of Britain.

In essence the continuous crisis through which the British economy has passed since 1945 is the result of attempting to maintain monopolistic production, exchange, and distribution relations with the outside world, which Britain's productive forces and historically established financial position are not adequate to sustain. The very effort to maintain them drains those financial reserves and weakens still further the rate of growth of the productive forces. For that effort requires that the British economy shall provide, at whatever cost, the reserves for a world financial centre, and a continuous and expanding flow of overseas investment. At the same time it must defend, against the peoples of newly independent countries (who resist the economic occupation and exploitation by foreign capital) the British monopoly capital established there. This posture involves Britain in the costly political and military alliances of the Cold War, above all with the strongest imperialist power, the USA, against all anti-imperialist forces, especially the socialist world system.

Militarisation of the Economy

A necessary consequence of Britain's role in the Cold War has been a chronic degree of militarisation of the economy and chronic level of arms expenditure in relation to national income unknown in Britain's previous "peace-time" experience. After World War II military expenditure began to fall, only to increase again with the formation of NATO, and rose to a high point of 10.4 per cent of GNP during the Korean War in 1952. The statement on Defence of 1962 estimated that the proportion would remain at about 7 per cent for the next five years.

The major single item in this spending is production and research (about 41 per cent of the total in 1962-63). The total direct employment arising from military expenditure, including the

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armed forces themselves, was 1.12 million in 1961, or 4.5 per cent of the total working population; but given that 7.7 per cent of GNP was being spent in this field, it is estimated that the extra indirect employment brought the total up to roughly 1.8 million people.[3] In 1958-59 military expenditure accounted for £243 million (or 49.0 per cent) out of the total expenditure on research and development by the whole country. Given the importance of R & D in a modern economy, the effects of devoting this proportion to military purposes can be gauged from the comparable problem raised in the much richer USA:

> "How much second rate industry is the United States prepared to suffer as the price of accumulating overkill without limit? Entire industries are falling into disrepair, and there was a massive loss of productive employment because of the inability to hold even domestic markets against foreign competition. While US research programmes for civilian purposes are grossly understaffed and many industries do no research at all, more than two thirds of all America's researchers work for the military". (Professor Seymour Melman, industrial and management engineer at Columbia University, in *The Times*, September 16th, 1965).

Already in the early 1950's the US Mutual Security Agency had noted how the NATO re-armament and the Korean war had lengthened the delivery dates of heavy industrial equipment from Britain and lost orders to West Germany, Sweden and Switzerland. If half the research that went into the fiascos of the military (from Blue Steel, the TSR 2, to Mr. Healey's pet swing-wing bomber) had gone into civilian research, and if giant companies had not been so featherbedded by military contracts, it seems probable that *The Times*, (in the understatement of the year) would not have had to say that the Rolls-Royce directors were "insufficiently cost-conscious". Militarism, under conditions of monopoly and state-monopoly capitalism, breeds new forms of parasitism. The tragedy is that the costs of parasitism are borne, not by the parasites, but by 80,000 Rolls-Royce workers (including those 10,000 deluded by the arguments of people's capitalism into investing more than £2 million of their savings), and by wider sections of wage and salary earners, including not a few managers.

Whenever the economy is in difficulties, the cry goes up that Britain is not investing enough at home, that we are consuming too big a proportion of our national product. In this context it is typical of the class myopia of monopoly capital always to blame this on workers' consumption, never to blame the consumption of the rich, and above all never to blame the capital export and the state consumption for Cold War objectives.

[3] Data taken from *Economic Effects of Disarmament*, Economist Intelligence Unit, London, 1962.

From Chronic to Acute

Thus neither the problem, nor the monopolies' policies to meet it, are new in our history. On the contrary, as the inter-war period showed, they are the chronic problem and the chronic remedies of a weakening imperialism. But today both disease and monopoly's remedies for it are moving rapidly from the chronic to the acute phase.

The acute phase stems from the re-emergence of Germany and Japan as world powers, in the formation of the EEC, and in the even more rapid growth of US capital export to Europe, including to Britain. West Germany has extended her capital export (including rentier lending through the Eurobond market to American firms); Japan is about to take off into a phase of renewed imperialist expansion. The evidence of a marked rise in inter-imperialist rivalry is apparent in recent EEC-US and Japan-US disputes over tariffs, and, as their obverse in the willingness of some monopoly firms and some imperialist governments to enter into closer relations with socialist countries. Within the EEC itself the next steps towards economic community, namely the plans for monetary union, have stagnated because of a deep French-German antagonism.

In the relations between imperialist powers on a world scale the inter-war element of partnership against the USSR has turned into a more pervasive post war partnership against all progressive and anti-imperialist forces abroad, and all non-monopoly classes and strata within each imperialist country. A union of monopolist states, it is hoped, will be able to do what each cannot do alone. In Europe monopolists of each country, already operating in each other's markets, increasingly through investment rather than trade, hope that by merger or cartel, assisted by their respective states, they can each buttress their positions of privilege at the expense of small, middle and even large capital of their own and other European nations, and at the expense of US capitalists.

They hope also mutually to reinforce each other in the attacks on the peoples' standards that are required to maintain monopoly profits in a period of more bitter rivalry. Inter-imperialist struggle requires, as it sharpens, a move towards political reaction at home. There is the hope, too, of collaboration in collective neo-colonialism and in presenting a common front against the increasing pressures of the newly independent countries.

Since, therefore, imperialism, in conditions of the uneven economic and political development of capitalist countries, necessarily involves a struggle

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for the redivision of the world between them, Britain, as an imperialist power, must necessarily be engaged in that struggle. Since, further, in the attempts to pursue that struggle so far, the policies of British monopoly capitalism, supported or directly implemented by the Labour leadership, have weakened Britain's own industrial base relative to that of Britain's capitalist rivals, so must the British monopolists inevitably press harder upon the British people. This process has now moved into a new gear.

In part, then, we can draw a parallel between today and the 1920's and 1930's—political collaboration with foreign imperialist and reactionary forces bent on world domination, with the consequence, now as then, of betrayal of Britain's strategic and national interests; economic struggle, within that collaboration, against rival monopoly groups, leading to economic and political attacks upon all non-monopoly sections of our people.

The Dominator Dominated

But there are important differences, reflecting a deeper level of weakness and crisis in the position of British imperialism now as compared with then. In the inter-war period the United States, though far the strongest single world capitalist power, had not yet entered decisively on the road to aggressive world domination. British connivance with Nazi reaction was that of the stronger imperialist power attempting to use the weaker: it was the City that gave loans to the Nazis. Nor was the level of development of the productive forces such that direct investment by the monopolists of one country in the territory of another major imperialist power, and the attempt to dominate it economically and politically, had yet become a typical and crucial new feature of inter-imperialist relations. Now it has.

Between 1950 and 1968 US investments in the world as a whole rose five fold (being in total $64.8 billion in the latter year); in Europe they rose eleven-fold, and in Britain eight-fold, so that already by 1963 foreign companies, above all US companies, accounted for 16 per cent of the net output of British manufacturing industry, with a still bigger share in the most modern sectors. Britain, therefore, whose monopolists had for so long dominated the world, is now itself under threat of domination. This would be a matter of little concern to the internal opponents of imperialism if it were not that export of US capital to Britain is not only capitalist exploitation, but also economic and political domination of our people.

Britain's Balance Sheet

The new position is well shown in Britain's balance sheet of external assets and in the balance of payments.

In 1913 Britain was a net creditor to the rest of the world to the extent of about £4,000 million, a sum roughly double the then national income. In 1939 net external assets were still roughly £4,000 million, but by then equal to only four fifths of national income. By 1969 UK external assets were £19,375 million, but liabilities £16,685 million, leaving net assets of £3,690—about 8 per cent of national income. (We do not, of course, draw from this the absurd conclusion—which comes from subtracting numbers instead of looking at production relations—that because *net* external assets were by 1961 relatively small, Britain had therefore ceased to be an imperialist creditor. For experience does not suggest that a capitalist creditor ceases to behave like one merely because he is also a debtor. If anything he becomes the more rapacious towards his own debtors as his own survival as a capitalist comes into jeopardy.) Moreover, to identify "Britain" as either creditor or debtor is to omit the class aspects of the matter. Much the greater part (all except some £2,300 million) of the credits, of the external assets, are in private hands, while the liabilities are mainly those of the state.

The reflection of the above change of the *capital* position in the inflows and outflows of dividends and interest ("property *income*")—namely the big increase of recent years in the *outflow*—is the consequence of the accumulation of past US direct investment in Britain. In 1938 interest, profits, and dividends received by British capitalists from abroad were £205 million; by 1948 they had dropped to £174 million. The corresponding payments to foreigners were £20 million in 1938, and £108 million in 1948 (Annual Abstract of Statistics 1938-48 p. 275). Thus pre-war the payments out were about one seventh of those flowing in. (There are no separate figures for the flows of payment on *private* investment). Between 1959 and 1969 receipts (after payment of foreign taxes) grew from £656 million to £1,292. About 97 per cent of these were private receipts. Payments out over the same period rose from £396 million (of which 37 per cent was by the British *public* sector) to £841 (of which 44 per cent was by the public sector).

Colonisation by United States?

More significant still is the export of capital by British capitalists compared with the export of foreign capital to Britain. In 1938, because the world slump and financial crisis had stopped capital export, both were unimportant. Between 1959 and 1969 the flow of *private* investment out of Britain rose from £303 million to £617 million (it was £735 million in 1968). Foreign private investment in the UK was £172 million in 1959, but £621

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million in 1969. Hence by that year *the inflow of private capital was greater than the UK private investment abroad.*

It would perhaps be somewhat premature to apply to the British position the phrase applied to continental Europe by the correspondent of *Die Welt*—"actual or alleged colonisation" by the USA (*The Times: Supplement on Britain on her Way to Europe*, October 28th 1966). But 15 Communist Parties of Western Europe were rightly concerned about the danger of the growing subordination of even large capitalist countries, and sought in January 1971 to exchange views on how to combat the threat to security of employment, living standards and the possibilities of national planning.

The greater freedom of manoeuvre of British capitalism, when pressed by its working class at home, which came from the possession of reserves within the wider sphere of operation of British capital, has always been the basis for opportunism in the British labour movement. That opportunism, the major trend for more than a century, has prevented the growth of working class unity around anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist, ideas and policies. In the now weakened position of British imperialism, every attempt to shore it up drains more of its resources and makes it seek collaboration with the stronger, aggressive US imperialism, not only endangers our national existence in the military field, but makes our economy vulnerable to US economic penetration. Every year longer this imperialist orientation of Britain lasts, the more are the productive forces of this country, including the education and skills of the people themselves, in danger of falling below world standards.

There are still those who believe that somehow it is possible to cling on to the old relations, that with the aid of US capital and the US military shield, the existing overseas investment can be maintained or increased, and thus the flow of tribute continued. So long as internal material conditions improved, then despite balance of payments crises and nuclear alarms (the actual war was always somewhere else), escapism could find its fig-leaf.

Narrowing Basis of Reformism

But as the American worker has discovered—as his real take home pay did not rise between 1965 and 1969, despite a substantial rise in production—there is a price. That price has risen also for the British people—and not only the working class—to a point where for them (as distinct from the monopolists) the benefits of imperialism, even narrowly conceived in material terms, are fast becoming, if they have not already become, zero. For in Britain too, real consumption stagnates while unemployment grows. Nor is the material part the whole of it.

In Britain, as in the US there is growing a profound social and moral crisis, stemming from a deepening distrust in the aims and outcome of imperialist society. Some may point to the material and moral crisis of the 1930's as the fascist offensive and war followed the economic slump, and say that capitalism was able to resolve it, at least in Britain. It is of course true that today British imperialism has the same aims and desires as yesterday. But aims and desires are not the same as possibilities. The possibilities of imperialism in general, but more especially of British imperialism (and therefore of the opportunist Labour leaders who have provided its camouflage in the labour movement) are much less than yesterday.

A deeper study of the objective causes of those smaller possibilities, and of the disappearing material basis for the long standing reformist trend should give the progressive forces every confidence in the success of their efforts, and spur forward those efforts.

* * *

Appendix

Desperate, as in the 1920's, to attract foreign short term capital to Britain as the basis on which to expand the more advantageous export of long term capital, British state-monopoly capitalism has been compelled to keep interest rates at a high level. For the foreign investor sought a special premium for investing his capital in Britain, whose balance of payments was weak (and whose currency might therefore be devalued), and weak just because the payments out on capital and military account were not matched by adequate receipts of foreign currency from exports of goods and services. A high rate of interest has not only raised the costs of everything, especially owner-occupier and local authority housing alike, schools and other public works, but it has been a damping factor upon capitalist investment by private industry in Britain. The effects of interest rate increases over the last decade can well be illustrated by the following table:

Indices for 1969, 1959=100. Calculated from **Annual Abstract of Statistics, 1970,** and **National Income and Expenditure, 1970**

Gross National Product at Factor Cost	178
Gross Trading Profits of Companies	148
Rent and Non-Trading Income of Companies	260
Debenture and loan interest (paid by companies)	515
Interest paid by banks	635
Interest and dividends paid by public corporations to the central government (mainly interest)	580

Absolute figures are also instructive. Debenture and

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loan interest rose from £96 million to £495 million; interest paid by Public Corporations to central government rose from £103 million to £595 million. National Debt interest rose from £1,064 million to £2,016 million (i.e. by about 90 per cent). Debenture and loan interest which formed less than 3 per cent of company trading profits in 1959 had risen to 10 per cent of them by 1969. In the present discussion on wages, a great deal is said about the way in which company trading profits have not kept up with wages, because prices could not be pushed up fast enough (strange, only yesterday the trade unionists were told they were wasting their time in the wages struggle, for the capitalist could always push up prices to the extent that wage-costs had risen). But the heirs of Keynes, who in a radical moment spoke of "the euthanasia of the rentier" as a means to boost net profits (after payment of interest), are extraordinarily silent about the most rapid growth of other forms, the most parasitic forms, of capitalist income, namely rent and interest.

A Note on Academic Freedom and Democracy

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In Britain in recent years there has been a revival of concern and action over issues of "academic freedom". The events at the London School of Economics and the Guildford and Hornsey Colleges of Art, the files uncovered at Warwick University, the non-appointment of Dick Atkinson at Birmingham University and Anthony Arblaster at Manchester University, the expulsion of Rudi Dutschke—these are the notorious cases. In addition, there are numerous less well-known incidents of a diverse character which go largely unnoticed and unchallenged.

The Democratic Context

Two features of these developments stand out immediately. First, virtually all the cases that have come to light have in one way or another involved both staff and students, in the form of staff support for students or student solidarity with victimised staff. Incidentally, it is clear that the revival of interest in academic freedom has been closely associated with the growth of student militancy. Second, it has long been evident that the question of academic freedom is inseparable from that of democracy. The democratic question arises at different levels—within the individual institutions, within the overall structure of the system of higher and further education, in the relationship of the institutions and system to society—and it is sterile to discuss academic freedom without specifying the democratic (or undemocratic) context.

It follows that action for the defence and extension of academic freedom and theoretical analysis of the concept will be more effective the more working class and other progressive forces outside the sphere of higher education are involved and the more account is taken of the class character and struggles of society as a whole. In the case of the heroic struggle of the victimised at Guildford, the successful winning of widespread support from the local labour movement has been crucial. In the case of the theoretical questions that arise in the analysis of the concept of academic freedom, clarity on the class character of the society within which the educational system is situated and on the complex and often contradictory nature of the relationships between that system and the society of which it is a part is, for Marxists, essential.

Marxist Approach

What, then, is the appropriate attitude for Marxists to adopt towards "academic freedom" in capitalist Britain today? At least two strands of thought can be detected which, in effect, deny that the defence and extension of academic freedom is a matter of concern for socialists. On the one hand there is the view that academic freedom is essentially a reactionary concept, designed to insu-

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late "ivory tower" institutions, especially universities, from the legitimate demands of society, thus enabling them to maintain their elitist preserves of privilege. On the other hand it is argued that any concept of academic freedom within capitalist society can only be an illusion, part of the ideological baggage of repressive tolerance, designed to maintain bourgeois-liberal ideological hegemony.

These two approaches illustrate one of the major difficulties with the concept of academic freedom, namely, that it is used and interpreted in many different ways. For this reason, some have claimed that the concept is useless. However, both the approaches indicated emphasise an aspect of the reality of the present situation, albeit onesidedly, and the fact that different interpretations are to be found is no reason in itself for abandoning the concept. It is the argument of this note that in the context of capitalist Britain today the concept of academic freedom can be developed into a revolutionary weapon in the struggle for socialism and, furthermore, that some concept of academic freedom will be essential in a Socialist Britain.

The argument must start from an analysis of current trends within higher and further education. The massive expansion of the past decade is certain to be continued in one way or another in the present decade. Essentially, this continuing expansion reflects the growing requirement of capitalist society for trained personnel—a requirement rooted in the changing conditions of capitalist production and consumption and in the vastly more complex and subtle apparatus necessary for the maintenance of bourgeois ideological hegemony. However, that is not all there is to it.

The expansion of higher education also reflects the growth of popular demand and pressure for mass higher education as the quality of primary and secondary education improves and the general cultural and educational level of society rises. At the same time, although the fact that production and consumption take place in a capitalist society dictates the specific, *distorted*, form of the pressure for more skilled personnel, the development of the productive forces in the interests of the majority (i.e. in a socialist society) would require a continuous increase in the productive powers, in the education and skill, of the people.

What Sort of Education?

Thus, the situation is contradictory. The sort of education most appropriate to the most rapid development of the underlying potential of the productive forces is in part inconsistent with that most appropriate to the specific requirements of *capitalist* production. The educational demands associated with popular pressure for the expansion of higher education are to some extent incompatible with the vocational requirements of capitalist industry. There are disagreements as to what sort of education is most appropriate to the specifically capitalist requirements of the day. Thus, the structure and content of higher and further education, as of all education, need to be regarded as areas of struggle. The expansion of higher education, while in an obvious sense related to the needs of capitalist society, can be a double-edged development.

Expansion under conditions of stringency, the only sort of expansion conceivable in capitalist Britain today, has given an impetus to economic demands—on grants, salaries and conditions. At the same time controversy on educational issues has mushroomed. The structure of higher and further education has itself become an area of intensified struggle, around the issue of the binary system, with clear ideological implications. It is of great significance whether higher and further education is to be organised on comprehensive lines or whether there is to be retained a hierarchy of institutions, with differential status and availability of resources. The analogy with secondary education is obvious. Equally important and closely related to developments in the rest of the educational system is the question of the proportion of the age group receiving higher or further education and the speed at which progress is made towards post-school education for all.

Education for What?

The struggle over the structure of the system of higher and further education is also part of the more general controversy over the role of such education and consequently over its methods and content. The question that is increasingly posed is "Education for what?". It is in seeking to answer this question that some of the most fundamental issues arise. What should be the balance between vocational and non-vocational? How much importance should be attached to the specific demands of capitalist industry or capitalist state? What methods of assessment (if any) should be used? How much say in determining course content should students have? Is a largely self-selected course necessary for active, critical learning as opposed to the passive absorption of received doctrine? To what extent should research and the relative importance of different disciplines be determined by the willingness of capitalist industry to provide funds or scholarships or to employ students at the end of their course?

While it is unlikely that any of these questions can be definitively resolved, discussion and struggle around them create new possibilities for

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questioning, criticising and transcending bourgeois ideological hegemony and hence constitute a potentially powerful new threat to capitalist society.

Marxist Ideological Work

At this stage in the argument the central importance of Marxist ideological work begins to emerge. Ideological work is at the heart of the general struggle for socialism, since a socialist revolution in the major capitalist countries is unlikely without the widespread adherence to working class Marxist theory and perspectives.

This in turn requires that bourgeois ideology be taken on and defeated at its strongest points, a process involving not only general ideological work by all within the working class movement but also specialist theoretical works, of especial relevance for Marxists with specialist knowledge and training. As already indicated, developments within the sphere of higher and further education have given rise to a ferment of discussion and struggle carrying with it great potential for the growth of an intensifying theoretical challenge to bourgeois ideological hegemony. For this reason, attempts to encapsulate these developments within a non-revolutionary ideology may be expected to increase. Only Marxist ideological work can prevent the new possibilities from being channelled into a variety of non-revolutionary outlets.

The Struggle Underway

It is in the context of such an analysis of current trends that the concept of academic freedom must be approached. If the system of higher education is to contribute to the needs of the majority, conditions must be such as to provide education relevant to those needs rather than to the distorted requirements of capitalist production and consumption, to promote socially responsible research and to enable ideological discussion to flourish. With respect to each of these requirements a struggle is underway. Currently, in neither the universities nor the other institutions are any of these functions adequately fulfilled. On the other hand, in few if any of them is the possibility of useful contribution in one or more of these fields totally precluded.

The struggle underway is, in effect, between those forces seeking to mould the system of higher education more completely to a pattern which serves only specifically capitalist interests and those seeking to defend and enlarge the area in which it is possible to contribute to the needs of the majority. Academic freedom, on this interpretation, is the set of conditions and rights which would, and to some extent does, make it possible for the system, the institutions and the people concerned to carry out their responsibilities to society—not to capitalist society but to society in the forward-looking sense of the vast majority of the population whose interests are objectively bound up with the struggle for socialism.

Whence the Threat?

Three major sources of threat to academic freedom thus interpreted can be discerned. First, there is the threat from the capitalist state, in the form of decisions as to the rate of expansion of higher and further education, the allocation of funds between different fields, the sponsoring of socially irresponsible research. Second, there is the distorting influence of capitalist industry, in the form of grants for specfied research and the impact of qualification requirements on curricula, educational methods and methods of assessment. Third, there is the inhibiting influence of the institutional power structures and bureaucracies, in the form of an oligarchic control over the security and prospects of advancement of students and a majority of staff and over the allocation of resources within the institutions.

To argue that academic freedom is threatened is not to imply that it exists, or ever has existed, in any absolute sense. However, in the course of their historical development, institutions of higher education, and in particular the Universities, have played different roles at different stages (e.g., the role of the Universities in the struggle against feudalism). At each new stage the system has been adapted to the requirements of that stage; but the adaptation has never been complete, the system has never been completely planned from scratch on the basis solely of the functional requirements of the moment. Deposits are left from each stage, concepts are created which carry over from one stage to another, being reinterpreted on the way. So it is with academic freedom.

At a time of growing attempts to discriminate against people on political grounds and to promote research into ways of making capitalist society work, rather than the scientific study of that society, it is necessary to defend that aspect of academic freedom which asserts the right of academics to their political position and to conduct the research they regard as important. At a time when pressures are mounting to increase the vocational element in higher education, in order to produce personnel trained in specifically capitalist requirements, it is essential to advance that aspect of academic freedom which asserts that the nurturing, spreading and enlarging of the corpus of human knowledge, the pursuit of understanding reality, is an integral part of all education which is in the interests of mankind.

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Academic Freedom and Democracy

Thus, a progressive, forward-looking interpretation of academic freedom is both possible and important. Its potential ideological significance is augmented by the fact that academic freedom in this sense entails what has been called academic democracy—the existence of democratic relationships within institutions, within the system of higher education and between that system and the society to which it belongs. Ideological discussion and the general development of human knowledge are likely to be inhibited in a hierarchial atmosphere in which one set of parties to a controversy have power over another, or in which non-parties to a controversy possess the power to decide the issue. Some concept of a self-governing community of scholars is required. Hence the internal structure of institutions must be democratised. At the same time, these institutions have a responsibility to society and necessarily stand in some relationship to it.

Hence governing bodies need to include representatives from outside the educational system; but these representatives must obviously be chosen democratically and this raises the whole question of the class character of society. Similarly, the structure of the educational system, the terms of reference and powers of institutions, the provision of resources, are formally determined by the state, the democratic status of which therefore arises. Again, some sort of relationship between the education and research undertaken in the higher education system and the economic, social and cultural life of the country will necessarily exist. Hence, the character of industry and of social and cultural institutions becomes relevant. Thus democracy is a necessary condition for academic freedom, for the existence of that set of conditions and rights without which the system of higher education cannot fulfil its responsibilities to the people.

Fundamental Questions Raised

Within the sphere of higher and further education the development of struggle around the issues of academic freedom and democracy may provide a link between action on immediate and, particularly, educational issues and the development of a revolutionary theoretical consciousness. Action to defend and strengthen progressive educational practice and research is increasingly likely to come up against pressures from the capitalist state, capitalist industry and institutional power structures. Both discussion on "Education for what?" and action to resist encroachments on and to extend the area of academic freedom and democracy raise fundamental theoretical questions concerning the analysis of capitalist society and hence may provide a stimulus to the development of Marxist ideological work.

In Socialist Society

It may be worth making two further remarks. Action to defend and extend academic freedom can be viewed as merely a microcosm within the sphere of higher education of one of the essential strands of the analysis of the *British Road to Socialism*—that the struggle to defend and extend bourgeois democracy, bourgeois rights, can become a revolutionary struggle in the course of which this bourgeois democracy, these bourgeois rights, are transformed into essential components of a new socialist democracy. From this it follows that, although the concept of academic freedom and democracy has been elaborated in this note in terms of the context of capitalist Britain today, some transformed concept of academic freedom will be essential in a socialist Britain. If one does not hold this view, then it is presumably hypocritical and opportunist to concern oneself with questions of academic freedom under capitalism, and one ought rather to argue in terms of some such concept of democracy, which one presumably does believe will have relevance for a socialist society.

However, that some concept of academic freedom will be essential in a socialist Britain seems certain. The advance of human knowledge and understanding is increasingly likely to require an atmosphere in which criticism, experimentation and innovation can flourish free from the fear of adverse consequences as a result of challenge to established orthodoxy. As the Statement of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain, *Questions of Ideology and Culture,* put it "The development of science requires the free confrontation of different scientific theories, and, where necessary, prolonged debate. . . . The Communist Party, therefore, does not and will not attempt to "lay down a line" on science, to forecast the results of scientific research, or decide questions still under investigation. It considers that this is the field of scientists themselves and encourages the confrontation of conflicting approaches as an integral part of science"; or again. "But the Communist Party, during the fight for and under socialism, does not see its task as being to direct what should be written, painted or composed—either in terms of subject or of style, it does not see its role as laying down laws governing literary and artistic creation. We reject the concept that art, literature or culture should reflect only one (official) school or style. On the contrary, we look on innovation in art as part of its very heart and nature". (See *Marxism Today,* May 1967, pp 135 and 136.)

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While the institutional structure of higher education, the responsibilities of the system and the resources devoted to it will be determined by society as a whole on the basis of its democratic procedures, it is likely that the best results in terms of the development of knowledge and understanding will be obtained if the framework thus established allows a relatively large measure of autonomy to the institutions to interpret, via a democratic internal structure, how best to fulfil their responsibilities to Society. Within this area of autonomy a socialist concept of academic freedom will be relevant. The absence of any effective concept of this sort in some of the socialist countries in recent years, notably Poland, post-invasion Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, has had an effect on their educational, intellectual and cultural life, the more so since it has been associated, almost inevitably, with a very underdeveloped state of socialist democracy and freedom in general.

Defend and Extend

The conclusion of this argument is that Marxists in Britain should be centrally involved in actions to defend and extend academic freedom and democracy. Trade Union organisations in the sphere of higher and further education have long regarded these issues as within their scope and are slowly becoming more active. A new body, the Council for Academic Freedom and Democracy has recently been formed to campaign on specific cases and to promote the democratisation of institutional structures. These and other developments in the struggle will be discussed in a subsequent issue of *Marxism Today*.

On the Bicentenary of Robert Owen's Birth:

Robert Owen and the Early Socialists

Ruth and Edmund Frow

(*Edmund Frow is the Manchester District Secretary A.U.E.W., Engineering Section. Ruth Frow is Deputy Head Teacher of a Secondary School*)

The crisis of capitalism is rapidly deepening and the British ruling class is peeling off the velvet glove to reveal the mailed fist underneath. Unemployment is growing and there is a forecast of over a million out of work. There is an all-out attack on the standard of living of the workers and the postmen, railwaymen and the teachers are in the front line of the counter-attack. The Industrial Relations Bill indicates that the ruling class can no longer govern in the old way and that they want to shackle the unions and deprive the workers of their bargaining power.

But this situation is not new. Capitalism has been in deep crisis many times during the last two hundred years. Each time the storm has been weathered and the workers have continued to prop up the system which deprives them of their share in the wealth that they produce. The factor which will change the situation is the realisation of the working class that for too long they have submitted to exploitation of the most vicious kind in order to keep the capitalist system going. The question that arises is, how can the sharpening class struggle on the economic front be translated into political action which will end the capitalist system once and for all time? The answer to that question surely lies in the depth of understanding that the workers gain as to the extent of their exploitation and the opportunities that a change to a socialist system would give them.

Conception of Class and Class Struggle

Marxists have a grave responsibility in this situation to use every possible means of helping workers to reach such an understanding. One way of doing this is to study the rich history of our own labour movement and to point out that capitalists, like leopards, do not change their spots. The nature of the class struggle was clearly understood in England long before Marx developed

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his economic theory. As Theodore Rothstein pointed out in *From Chartism to Labourism*,[1] "The conception of the class struggle in all its implications and applications can be exhaustively developed only from the proletarian standpoint" and the early industrialisation in this country ensured that the problems arising from the rapid technical changes and the necessary social transformation were studied and understood by contemporary writers. The economic works of the first half of the nineteenth century, which Marx studied when he was writing *Capital*, were an expression of the social life of that time and, as Plekhanov noted, "Although Marx was never a 'disciple' of Hodgskin, Thompson or Gray, it is of the utmost importance for the history of socialist theory that these English socialists achieved an insight into the theory of political economy that was remarkable for the period".[2] But even earlier, as Marx himself pointed out, "John Bellers, a very phenomenon in the history of political economy, saw most clearly, at the end of the seventeenth century, the necessity for abolishing the present system of education and division of labour".[3]

John Bellers

Bellers' tract, *Proposals for Raising A College of Industry Of All Useful Trades and Husbandry With Profit For The Rich, A Plentiful Living For The Poor And A Good Education For Youth* was published in 1696. In it, he advocated the formation of agricultural colonies which would consist of three hundred people living as a community in which the standard of value was the labour contributed, not money. On the title page of the tract he quoted, "The Sluggard shall be cloathed with raggs. He that will not Work, shall not Eat". The establishment of idealistic socialist colonies was one of the ways by which Robert Owen attempted to put into practice the theories that he formulated arising out of his experiences of the early factory system. In his Autobiography,[4] Owen relates how Francis Place showed him a copy of Bellers tract and explained that it advocated the same social views that Owen held. Robert Owen thought so highly of Bellers work that he had a thousand copies of the tract reprinted in 1818.

Charles Hall

Apart from Robert Owen, there were other brilliant thinkers who, in the early years of the nineteenth century, analysed the basic conceptions on which the rising capitalist system was built and showed that the workers were deprived of their just share of the produce of their labour. One of the earliest was Dr. Charles Hall, who, in 1805, published an inquiry into the effects of civilisation on the conditions of the people. By civilisation he meant the development of the productive forces and the changes in technique. His main thesis was that the rich were growing richer and the poor were becoming impoverished as a result of industrialisation. The rich man he regarded as the buyer and the poor man as the seller of labour. Their interests, he pointed out, were diametrically opposed and he saw in society what Disraeli later called "the two nations".

Hall calculated that the working class received only one-eighth of the value of its labour. The other seven-eights went to the "masters". In *The Economist's* investigation into the distribution of income based on the Inland Revenue Returns for 1959/60 the top twelve per cent of the population owned 96 per cent of the total wealth. The remaining eighty eight per cent had to make do with the 4 per cent that was left.[5] It would appear that Charles Hall's warnings over a hundred and fifty years ago were extremely timely.

Charles Hall not only recognised the existence of classes in society, but he pointed out that each class was prone to peculiar vices. The poor, he said, were perverted through material deprivation and the rich suffered from that most evil of vices, the oppression of one's fellowmen. Like his contemporary, Robert Owen, Hall thought that the worst evils of the system could be avoided if the rich redressed the grievances of the poor. The implication of the difficulties that a rich man encountered before he could enter the kingdom of heaven had apparently escaped them. To our more sophisticated (and experienced) minds, the possibility that inequality should be done away with by the very people who enjoy the advantages would appear improbable and quixotic. However, Hall was well ahead of his time and his forthright and readable style make his work interesting reading:

> "It is obvious that the interest of the buyer and seller is, in every case, opposite. It is the interest of the buyer to give as little for what he buys as he can get it for. It is in the interest of the seller to get as much for what he sells as he can get for it. Every rich man is to be considered as the buyer, every poor man as the seller, of labour. It is for the interest of the rich man to get as much of the work of the poor man and to give him as little for it as he can; in other words, to get as much of the

[1] Theodore Rothstein, *From Chartism to Labourism* (1929), page 94.

[2] G. Plekhanov, *Utopian Socialism of the Nineteenth Century* (Moscow), page 39.

[3] Karl Marx, *Capital* (Moscow, 1959), page 488.

[4] Robert Owen, *The Life*, Vol. 1 (1857—Kelly Reprint, New York, 1967), page 240.

[5] H. Frankel, *Capitalist Society and Modern Sociology* (1970), page 77.

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labour, and to give the labourer as little of the produce of that labour as he can help; the less of the product of his labour, the labourer himself is suffered to consume, the more is left to his employer to take to himself.

"The opposition of interest between the poor and the rich is said to be counteracted and cured by the competition subsisting between the masters or employers; but we shall see that in fact it is no cure, by the small proportion, as is hereafter demonstrated, of the produce of the labour of the poor, that is allowed them." [6]

Piercy Ravenstone

It is rare in the annals of political economy to find a century old mystery being unravelled. But in the re-print of Piercy Ravenstone's work *A Few Doubts on the Subjects of Population and Political Economy*, an American economist, Joseph Dorfman, proves, in his introductory essay, that Ravenstone was almost certainly a retired Anglican clergyman, Edward Edwards. Edwards wrote for the *Quarterly Review* and for Blackwood's *Edinburgh Magazine*. Max Beer had called Ravenstone a Tory-Democrat, and suggested that he probably wrote under a pseudonym. His democracy even extended to a support for universal manhood suffrage. The "Doubts" was first published in 1821 mainly in opposition to the Malthusian theory on population. Ravenstone like Hall, accepted that there were two classes in society and recognised the distress of the "labouring class".

Professor Seligman of Columbia University called Ravenstone, "the earliest advocate of the theory of surplus value subsequently adopted by Marx". Although the style of Edward's writing is prolix and to modern readers somewhat meandering, nevertheless, his exposition of the position of the workers and a sympathy for their cause make his work worth reading.

". . . very different from that artificial right, which grows up in the progress of society, by which a man is enabled to appropriate to himself the ownership of lands which he does not occupy, and on which he has never exercised any industry. A right which enables him to live in plenty, without any labour of his own, and to exact from others a large portion of the fruits of their own industry . . . the wages of the labourer will be restricted to what will procure him the necessaries of life, and the necessaries will be reduced as low as possible by the reluctant bounty of the contributor . . . The interests of the labourer have been sacrificed to those who live on his labour." [7]

[6] Charles Hall, *The Effects of Civilization on The People in European States* (1805—Kelly Reprint, New York, 1965), pages 111/112.

[7] Piercy Ravenstone, *A Few Doubts On The Subjects Of Population and Political Economy* (1821—Kelly Reprint, New York, 1966).

William Thompson

As has so often happened in English history, an Irishman has played a significant part in it at an important stage. William Thompson was an Irish landlord who became an ardent follower of Jeremy Bentham, the Utilitarian. He then believed in the pursuit of the greatest sum of human happiness. This presupposes that wealth will be distributed equitably and justly. But the process of capitalist production leaves the means of production in the hands of the capitalist who therefore considers himself entitled to as large a share of the profit as he can acquire. This inevitably leaves the worker with a small and unjust share. He cannot therefore be happy.

Thompson was an honest inquirer into the natural laws of society and had to concede that the Benthamites failed to answer the unsolved problems. He therefore turned with equal fervour towards Robert Owen and the socialists and explained his progress in a volume published in 1824 called *An Inquiry Into The Principles of the Distribution Of Wealth Most Conducive To Human Happiness.* In it he firmly asserted that labour is the source of all wealth and therefore must be given the right to a major share in it. Unfortunately, although he shed his Benthamite outlook as the book proceeded he retained his circumlocutary style. But the essentials of his argument are there to be extracted:

"There can be no other source of this profit than the value added to the unwrought material by the labour guided by skill expended upon it. The materials, the buildings, the machinery, the wages, can add nothing to their own value. The additional value proceeds from labour alone . . . 'Twas labour that gave to all these their value as wealth, before they came into the hand of the mechanic; and by his additional labour alone can their value be still further increased." [8]

Two years after writing the "Inquiry", Thompson showed how much further his thinking had developed. In it he advocated co-operation in preference to any other system of society, particularly any scheme of competing small producers. Thompson, like Bellers, wanted to see co-operative societies of production. He saw trades unions as a means of saving and accumulating funds which could be put to establishing co-operative colonies. He questioned the economic and philosophical basis of capitalism.

"Is it then true, that the wish to secure to labour the whole products of its exertions and the right of freely exchanging them, is a mere fond and

[8] William Thompson, *An Inquiry Into The Principles Of The Distribution of Wealth Most Conducive To Human Happiness* (1824—A new edition by William Pare, 1850), page 127.

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unattainable dream? Is it true that, however bad in theory and destructive of human happiness the claims of idle capital to the products of labour may be, those claims must, by a strange fatality, be always acquiesced in and practically enforced?" [9]

Thomas Hodgskin

The extraordinary contribution that the early socialist thinkers made to the development of theory, that Marx was able to co-ordinate into the labour theory of value, is the more impressive when the embryonic stage of the capitalist system and the paucity of statistical material[10] about it are considered. As the century progressed, the socialist writers became more sophisticated. The early exploratory works were developed and polished. A young naval officer, Thomas Hodgskin, objected to the over harsh discipline in the Navy and left to become a social critic. He read Piercy Ravenstone's books and was influenced by them. Hall saw the industrial revolution as an evil thing to be ended as quickly as possible so that people could return to an agricultural life. He wanted public ownership of the land and the settlement of surplus labour on small farms, but he saw no inherent struggle within the capitalist system. Hodgskin, represents a later phase of the revolt against capitalism and was able to think in terms of industry and the class struggle.

Hodgskin wrote a pamphlet in which he set out his belief in the need for economic struggle. It is one of the most aggressive and closely reasoned pamphlets of the labour and socialist movement according to Max Beer[11], and certainly makes very readable and modern-sounding arguments. Logically his conclusions would however lead to a state of anarchy. Thompson wrote his *Labour Rewarded* in an attempt to show that co-operation was preferable to Hodgskin's advocacy of class warfare.

> "Wages vary inversely as profits; or wages rise when profits fall, and profits rise when wages fall; and it is therefore profits, or the capitalist's share of the national produce, which is opposed to wages, or the share of the labourer. The theory on which profits are claimed, and which holds up capital and accumulation of capital to our administration as the mainspring of human improvement, is that which I say the labourers must, in their own interest, examine, and must, before they can have any hope of a permanent improvement in their own conditions, be able to refute. They, indeed, are so satisfied that by their exertions all the wealth of society is produced that no doubt on the subject has ever entered their minds. This is not, however, the case with other people, and whenever the labourers claim larger wages, or combine to do themselves justice, they hear, both from the legislature and the Press, little or nothing about the necessity of rewarding labour, but much about the necessity of protecting capital. They must therefore be able to show the hollowness of the theory on which the claims of capital, and on which all the oppressive laws made for its protection are founded." [12]

The economic aspects of *Labour Defended* were further elaborated and somewhat softened in the lectures that Hodgskin delivered at the London Mechanics Institute. These lectures were collected and published in 1827 and the influence that they had on his students such as Lovett and Hetherington affected the part they played in the Chartist movement. One of the most fundamental contributions that Hodgskin made to labour theory was that the workers are in continual struggle against the possessing classes and that the trades unions are the leaders of that economic struggle.

> "As commodities are exclusively the produce of labour, there is no other rule, and can be no other rule, for determining their relative value to each other, but the quantity of labour required to produce each and all of them . . . different quantities of labour are naturally necessary to procure, and different degrees of difficulty are naturally met with in procuring all commodities, and these different quantities of labour, these different degrees of difficulty, establish in our minds a natural relation of value between all commodities, including the precious metals, which, though it may vary, exists at all times and places, quite independent of any human laws whatever. The precious metals, therefore, have a settled value, both in relation to each other, and in relation to all other commodities, which is always determined by the quantity of labour necessary to produce each and all of them." [13]

John Bray

The lot of a book collector is, on the whole, a happy one. Indeed, the material on which this article is based has been supplied by the indefatigable efforts of the reprinters of basic economic texts (mainly Kelly of New York). But the euphoria induced by finding rare and long lost material in an old trunk falls to the lot of a few of us. Miss Agnes Inglis of Michigan tracked down John Bray's last home in Pontiac, and found that his daughter-in-law had a trunkful of his possessions including his own copy of *Labour's Wrongs and*

[9] William Thompson, *Labour Rewarded* (1827—Kelly Reprint, New York, 1969), page 39.

[10] Considerable use was, however, made of Patrick Colquhoun's work, *A Treatise on the Wealth, Power and Resources, of the British Empire* (1814).

[11] Max Beer, *A History of British Socialism* (Vol. 1, (1929)), page 261.

[12] Thomas Hodgskin, *Labour Defended Against The Claims of Capital* (1922—The Labour Publishing Company Ltd.), pages 27/28.

[13] Thomas Hodgskin, *Popular Political Economy* (1827—Kelly Reprint, New York, 1966), page 185/186.

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Labour's Remedy as well as unpublished manuscripts and other Bray ephemera.[14] She certainly must have considered it as labour rewarded.

John Bray was the eldest son of an entertainer who emigrated from Leeds to America and returned when his son was eleven. Two days after their arrival in England, Bray's father died and the boy was cared for by an aunt in Leeds. He went to school and was then apprenticed to a printer. But for three years before his indentures were signed, he tramped the country as an itinerant craftsman. His experiences during these years led him to undertake a study of social problems and he became one of the founder members of the Leeds Working Men's Association. During this time he wrote *Labour's Wrongs*, which Marx called, "This remarkable work". Marx referred to Bray as an English Communist.[15] Strictly, of course, Bray was not an Englishman, but an American. But his work which was published in Leeds in 1839, referred to England.

John Bray was influenced by reading the works of Hodgskin and Owen. He believed strongly in the efficacy of mutual co-operation in production, distribution and exchange as the panacea for the ills of capitalism. He did not believe that the working class could achieve any amelioration of its condition by political or trade union methods. He wrote in an evangelistic tone which perhaps by its very sincerity and fervour makes it easy and interesting to read.

Allen Clarke, the Lancashire dialect writer, in his novel, *The Men Who Fought For Us*, called Bray's book "clear and outspoken" and "widely popular amongst the Owenites, Socialists and pre-Rochdale Co-operators". He likened it to a "pillar of fire in the wilderness".

> "Under the present social system, Capital and Labour—the shovel and the digger—are two separate and antagonist powers; and such they always have been, and ever must be, when existing in connection with particular individuals and classes. Although Capital and Labour are intimately connected with and dependent upon each other, and both work together for a common end—that end is PRODUCTION, and not the exaltation of one man and the abasement of another. In connection with particular individuals and classes, however, Capital and Labour can have no community of interest—they will ever be in perpetual hostility—for the gain of the capitalist is always the loss of the working man, and the poverty and toil of the last is a necessary consequence of the wealth and the idleness of the first.
>
> "Of all the vast wealth now existing in the United Kingdom—worth, as it is, so many thousands of millions sterling, and produced, as it has been, by the labour of the productive classes during many centuries—of all this immense wealth, the share which the working man holds and enjoys is but as an ounce to a ton—a drop to an ocean—in comparison to that which the present social system has enabled the capitalists to obtain possession of." [16]

Throughout the early years of the nineteenth century, the different strata of working people, the domestic workers, the factory hands, the agricultural workers and the distributive workers, together with navvies and labourers building the means of communications and travel, became coagulated into the working class. Their interests tended to merge in the middle of the century in the Chartist and trade union movements. But before that happened, there were twenty years of propaganda and education during which the workers learnt to recognise themselves and assert their power economically. The name that runs like a thread through these years is that of Robert Owen.

Influence of Owen

Owen saw the paradox of the growth in the productive forces and the impoverishment of the workers. He wrote, "That the natural standard of value is, in principle, human labour, or the combined manual and mental powers of men called into action."[17] Being a rich man he used his wealth to propagate his views. He edited a number of papers in which he himself wrote and published other writings which reflected his opinions. For example, in *The Crisis* he reprinted an article on *The Value of Labour* in which the point of view expressed was very similar to his own writing.

> "The working classes have no idea of the real value of their own labour . . . If wages were the whole value of the work, how could the master take the work to market, sell it for more money than he gave for it, and grow rich upon the profit, while the workman grows poor upon the wages? This would be impossible. Therefore it is evident that the workman does not get the whole value of his work; and it is also evident that if he did he would grow rich, just as the master does . . . It must be so, and could not be otherwise; for all the wealth of the world, that ever did exist, or ever will exist, must necessarily be produced by the working classes, and by them alone." [18]

[14] John Francis Bray, *A Voyage From Utopia* (1957), Introduction by M. F. Lloyd-Prichard, MA.

[15] Karl Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy* (Moscow, ND), page 77.

[16] John F. Bray, *Labour's Wrongs and Labour's Remedy* (Leeds 1839—Kelly Reprint, New York, 1968), page 60/61.

[17] Robert Owen, *Report To The County Of Lanark* (1832), page 10.

[18] *The Crisis*, Vol. 1, No. 23, Saturday, August 11th, 1832, Edited by Robert Owen, page 96, *The Value of Labour* (Reprinted from The Lancashire and Yorkshire Co-operator).

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Robert Owen was not only the greatest of the early English Socialists, but he had the most influence on the development of the labour movement. He was a tireless propagandist and was described by Frederick Engels as, "one of the few born leaders of men".[19] He gave his life to the movement and was known at the age of seventy years to be able to sleep for only five hours in two days, make a journey of sixty miles before breakfast, and lecture every day and twice on Sundays. These lectures raised fundamental issues and made many workers realise the need for a change in the established order.

When Owen became disillusioned after his appeals to the rich and powerful men had fallen on deaf ears, he turned to the workers. William Hazlitt had foreseen that Owen would incur the wrath of the ruling class when he commented in 1816:

> "Let his 'New View of Society' but make as many disciples as the 'Enquiry Concerning Political Justice', and we shall soon see how the tide will turn about. There will be a fine hue and cry raised by all the good and wise, by all 'those acute minds' who, Mr. Owen tells us, have not been able to find a flaw in his reasonings, but who will soon discover a flaw in his reputation . . . he will be marked as a jacobin, a leveller, an incendiary, in all parts of the three kingdoms; he will be avoided by his friends, and become a bye-word to his enemies:".[20]

The most active years of the Owenite organisations were in the 1830's and 1840's when the Halls of Science were built and working class opinion of the time became influenced by Owenism. In 1832, Owen organised the two Equitable Labour Exchanges, in London and Birmingham. The exchanges offered an opportunity to the producers to barter their product on the basis of the number of hours labour involved.

It was during this later period in Owen's work that he recognised the workers as "the productive classes" and stopped calling them, "the lower orders". His paternalistic attitude was naturally modified when he no longer ran the New Lanark Mills and his experience in the Tolpuddle Martyrs' campaign and with the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union helped him to respect the working class.

On May 14th, this year, 1971, we celebrate the bi-centenary of the birth of Owen. This offers an opportunity to study the work which he and his contemporaries did to lay the base on which Marx was later to build. In sharpening our weapons for the ideological fight against the capitalist system, we could do worse than follow the advice which Owen offered to his "Friends and Fellow Men" in his book *The Revolution In The Mind and Practice of the Human Race.*

> "The existing system of society, in all its varieties throughout the world, is based on falsehood—is, therefore artificial, and opposed to the eternal laws of humanity; and the sooner it can be made to terminate, the better it will be for all now living and those who will live hereafter." [21]

[19] Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring* (Moscow, 1954), page 361.

[20] William Hazlitt, *The Collected Works*, Vol. 3 (1902), page 126.

[21] Robert Owen, *The Revolution In The Mind And Practice Of The Human Race* (1848), page XVII.

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Discussion Contributions on:

Socialism, Democracy and the One-Party System

Julian Tudor Hart

Monty Johnstone's well-documented and carefully written study of the origins of the one party system in the USSR has shown, with convincing evidence, that this system was not regarded as a necessary or desirable feature of socialist society by Marx, Engels, or Lenin. It arose because of the particular circumstances of an embattled remnant of a minority proletariat in a socially and economically backward country, carrying the future of socialism and of the human race on its shoulders almost unaided; these particular circumstances need not recur. The view that social institutions, developed in one set of circumstances and more or less appropriate to them or inevitable in them, will perpetuate themselves in new circumstances in which they are inappropriate and harmful unless or until political struggle alters them, is central to Marxism. This view appears to be valid for socialist society as it is in other societies.

In the Future Socialist Britain

It is conceivable that this struggle for change beyond the change might proceed entirely within one party, but so far this has not happened, at least not smoothly enough or effectively enough to make multi-party systems irrelevant. The single party, instead of becoming exceptionally broad and flexible to accommodate all progressive trends, became narrow, dogmatic, and intolerant; these qualities have been modified, but are essentially unchanged. This terrible problem, which must and will be solved by Soviet society by the logic of its own social and economic development and the courage and integrity of its citizens, will not be influenced by advice from any of us, and so far as I know none of us have offered any. We do have a right and a duty to sort out our own views of a future socialist Britain, and those aspects of existing forms of socialism we want, and those we do not.

There is a suspicion among many people sympathetic to our policies that some of us regard a single monolithic party that affirms "complete identity of views on all important questions" as a desirable and central feature of socialism. Fear of this is not limited to intellectuals, in fact I think it is held more strongly and consistently by workers. The justification for this fear is the minority of our members who do in fact appear to think just this, and do incalculable damage to our cause. This damage is particularly great at a time when the Left as a whole is growing rapidly, and is as full of energy as it is of half-baked and infantile ideas, but our own membership is more or less stagnant. This minority in our party appears to regard the *British Road to Socialism* as a tactic rather than a strategy. They will not abdicate, for the majority vote of congress is not their point of reference in deciding the rights and wrongs of policies, but rather some sort of Holy Grail of mystical loyalty lying further and further away from our own needs and experience. The only effective answer to it is a positive and much more energetic development of thought and action along the lines of the *British Road.*

Our Own Revolution

We are entering a new era in revolutionary politics, an era that may well see the triumph of socialism in decisive areas of developed capitalism and imperialism. Our first duty to mankind is to be successful in our own revolution; to be successful in that revolution it must truly be our own, and we must be confident of what we shall get on the other side. Our future must be seen by the overwhelming majority of our people as in *every* decisive respect superior to what we now have. When Lenin said that "Proletarian democracy is a million times more democratic than any bourgeois democracy" we can see the mighty truth in this rhetoric, particularly at a time of revolution still in flood; but when Andrew Turner quotes this, and adds "If Lenin claimed that Soviet power was a million times more democratic than any bourgeois republic after only *one year*, what is the position *today* after fifty years of Soviet power?" One can only marvel at the blind faith and criminal negligence that can assume that all who doubt his answer must be

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"rabidly anti-Soviet". This is the world of religion, not science.

Although we sing of it, ours is not "the last fight"; there will never be one. There will always be struggle for change, in socialism and in communism as in more primitive societies. We have a duty to preserve and extend the machinery of struggle, disagreement and heresy for the "last fights" of the future on which we can have no useful opinion. One of the most precious lessons we can learn from the bitter experience of the Soviet pioneers is the need to preserve and extend this machinery of real criticism and change, and the fearful consequences of failure in this; we honour them most by heeding that lesson, not by investing them with divine infallibility.

Why Did it Happen?

Fred Lindop

Perhaps you will permit a non-CP Marxist a few comments on the discussion "Why did it Happen"? There are a great number of important and minor points to which I would like to reply, but to do so would take several issues of *Marxism Today*. I will confine myself to the following.

Firstly, the discussion has an air of unreality, which stems from an acceptance—in all essentials—of the official version of the history of the Communist movement since 1917. Maurice Dobb (May 1970) correctly contradicts F. Gee's assertion that what happened in the USSR can be attributed to "historical necessity"—although having re-read Dobb's original piece, I can see why Cde. Gee thought Dobb was arguing that. Dobb then goes on to say that the "distortions" could have been avoided, but makes no mention at all of the tremendous debates that took place in the CPSU in the 1920s, in which the left opposition put forward comprehensive alternative policies and pointed to the danger of the course being pursued by the party leadership.

Is this not important, or does it not cast serious doubts on the general line of falsified history with which Dobb has only marginal and reluctant quarrels? The Communist Party cannot come to terms with Stalin until it has an account of the 1920s which explains how the dominant faction in the party, representing the incipient bureaucracy, pursued a policy—inadequately summed up in the phrase "socialism in one country"—which helped to increase the isolation of the USSR, hindered revolutionary developments in Western Europe and the backward countries and strengthened the bureaucratic forces in the USSR.

Socialist Legality

Secondly, a point for Jack Kay (June 1970): the distortions of socialist legality and inner party democracy did not begin in 1930. In the 1920s, leading members of the party were expelled and exiled for daring to exercise their rights as party members to criticise and propose alternative policies, rights which were not removed even in the darkest days of the Civil-War, interventionist period. When Maurice Dobb refers to the elimination of dissent during the Civil-War period, he gives—to say the least—a misleading slant to history, in order to "explain" later developments. Dissent was not eliminated in the party, and opposition parties with support among the working class were permitted freedom of propaganda until they showed quite obviously that they had gone over to the enemy. Why? Because democratic centralism was not regarded as a luxury of peacetime, as Dobb appears to regard it, but as something essential to the life of the party; especially essential in helping it to act as the party of the class, allowing the class to speak to the party and the party to the class through its mass of members in the factories, army units etc. Essential also to the development of communists, able to think for themselves, to *know why* orders had to be accepted once decisions had been taken.

Ends and Means

A third point. F. Gee (March 1970) says that the abuses of Stalinism stem from the acceptance of the non-Marxist view that the end justifies the means. This statement reveals a thoroughly non-Marxist approach, but one that is not surprising in view of the fact that this correct generalisation has been used to "justify" atrocities which have dishonoured the working class movement. If the end does not justify the means, what does? The only alternative takes one immediately into one variety or another of philosophical idealism. But if the end justifies the means, what justifies the end? Well, from the Marxist point of view, the end is justified if it leads to the increasing power

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of man over nature and to abolition of the power of man over man. Does that mean that everything is permissible? Clearly not. Only that is permissible which really leads to the liberation of mankind; which imbues the proletariat with a sense of their historical mission, raises their courage and sense of self-sacrifice in the struggle. It clearly follows from this that not all means are justified. Revolutionaries ought to avoid means which set one part of the working class against another, or attempt to make the masses happy without their participation, or lower the faith of the masses in themselves and their organisation, replacing it by faith in the leaders. Inexact, of course, but one which provides some standard of comparison with the Stalin leadership's crimes against the working class of the world.

The Strategy of Socialist Revolution in Britain

Mike Prior

The difficulty of presenting any strategy for revolution is the traps which exist of presenting, on the one hand dogmatic blueprints and on the other vague generalities. It is unfortunate that Comrade Pearce has written an article that combines both these faults. It is doubly unfortunate because at this time it is important that our Party should not appear confused and contradictory in its revolutionary strategy.

Before justifying this criticism let me make two things clear; first the question of the necessity or otherwise of violence in achieving revolution is irrelevant. I am not totally clear as to where the borderline lies between "intense struggle, not without violent clashes" and "civil war" (all quotations are from Comrade Pearce's article), but, whatever the definitions used, our discussion should not to be concerned with them. No doubt, at some time in the future it will be necessary to defend our socialist advances, as all revolutions have had to do in the past; we can only hope that this defence will contain as little violence as Comrade Pearce asserts. He may well be right.

Secondly, no member of our Party, and to be honest few of the "ultra-left", is using the slogan, "Down with bourgeois democracy—for armed struggle now and always". To try and rebut legitimate and serious arguments by such crudities has been one of the more regrettable, historical features of communist writing and debate.

"Anti-Monopoly Alliance"

That established; the bulk of Comrade Pearce's article rests on two propositions, one bears the weight of the argument, the other, the weight of its conclusions. The major theoretical point is that "the dominance of the super-trusts creates the possibilities of isolating them, of mobilising against them the overwhelming majority of the people, of all from whatever section of society, whose interests are to some degree menaced by the monopolies and their control of the state". These sections of society include "workers in factories, offices, professions, working farmers, producers and consumers, owner-occupiers and tenants, housewives, young people, students, pensioners, workers in the peace movement and those active in the defence of democracy".

This is a long and rather curious list. It includes, for a start, everbody, (except the wretched homeless, not "owner-occupiers and tenants"), it includes abstract economic categories ("producers and consumers", the latter being everybody in another guise), and it includes precise, rather small categories, ("students" "working farmers"), it includes some kinds of political activists, ("workers in the peace movement and in defence of democracy") but not others. It is also extensible indefinitely, (what about immigrants, shop-keepers, motorists, women, Irish catholics, school children, the blind and the deaf.)

It is also quite useless, for at no point is any estimation made of the particular strengths or roles of these groups, only the blanket statement that these people "do find themselves in conflict with monopolies".

Need for Class Analysis

Comrade Pearce has seen something very clearly; that resistance to monopolisation goes way beyond the bounds of the traditional working class. However by not using Marxist tools of class analysis which are perfectly valid in this situation, and instead relying upon vague generalities he in fact ends by

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taking for his further argument an extremely crude picture of society. The "anti-monopoly alliance" plays a rapidly decreasing part in the analysis. Very shortly, instead of overwhelming mobilisation of this alliance, "the working class . . . united by bold leadership, standing squarely for the interests of all workers by hand and brain, . . . will at least neutralise many more whose support for the monopolies and for the Tory party has been undermined". And then, "The weakness of the working class in the electoral field . . .", "the failure yet to unite a decisive part of the working class around the ideas of Marxism" and "the overwhelming numerical superiority of the working class in Britain, plus its unrivalled organising ability, can bring to bear in the electoral field a power capable of shattering the electoral balance. . . ." If the latter is our perspective, one wonders what the role of the working farmers is; perhaps in the street fighting. I am not attempting to deny the dominant position of the working class forces; the contradiction lies in the use made of the concept of an "anti-monopoly alliance".

The point is this. Revolutions are made by class alliances; in Russia, in Cuba, in Czechoslovakia, in all of the socialist countries, though under very different circumstances. The working class cannot achieve socialism in class isolation, the situation which existed in Germany before the First World War and in Britain in the '20's. Nevertheless the working class plays a dominant role, not necessarily because of its size (vide Russia and Cuba) but because of its specific position in the productive process. The class alliances made in any historical period depend upon the particular point of development of these productive processes and because of this the "British Road" is perfectly correct in its emphasis on the advanced stage of monopolisation in Britain. However a mechanical listing of all those injured in some way by monopolies is of no help in seeing the way forward; it has been true since history began that if all the oppressed of the world joined hands against their oppressors they could free themselves, it is also true that mere repetition of that fact has never freed one slave.

The Labour Party

The failure of the article to in any way analyse the potential of class-alliance in this country would be forgivable, if rather wasteful, if it were not for the second, concrete proposition which is produced at the end of the article. Before examining it, I would like to make a comment. Participation in the electoral process is not in dispute, nor do I find it disputable that the gathering of electoral support and the election of socialists to all levels of government is an essential part of the revolutionary struggle. Like arguments about possible future violence, future electoral victories are a red herring. The real point of debate is our present attitude towards political alliance and, in particular, our attitude towards the Labour Party.

The problem of the Labour Party, that it has mass working class electoral support, that it has such close trade union ties and yet that it is so remorselessly reformist, has hung over our Party from its foundation. It is indeed a complex problem for it relates to all levels of work, nationally and to local campaigns, to our historical tradition and to our future strategy. The position of Comrade Pearce seems clear; the political future of the Communist Party lies in alliance with the Labour Party. "We see this struggle to unite all left forces, inside and outside the Labour Party, for the defeat of the Right Wing, as the key enabling the working class to realise its own potential strength".

The Labour Party is to be transformed from within by its left wing whilst the role of the Communist Party is to aid and support this transformation, indeed to play an essential part in it, "without the Communist Party and the *Morning Star*, the growth and the victory of the Left movement as a whole, the defeat of the Right Wing in the Labour Party would not be possible". It is noticeable that this is the only clearly stated, positive role assigned to the CP. It is mentioned barely a dozen times and only in this one case in other than a historical or purely rhetorical way, (i.e. "The building of a very much larger and more influential Communist Party will speed the spread of fundamental socialist ideas. . . ."). Thus the political strategy offered to us is one of alliance with the Labour Party, a body changed by its left wing into a revolutionary force.

Popular Base Disappeared?

There are two clear objections to this. The historical development of the Labour Party as a political party seems to argue against a left "take-over". However much advance we claim at each LP conference (and every one always is supposed to herald the breakthrough), like Sisyphus and his boulder, by the next conference we are always back at the bottom of the hill. And in fact the conference itself has come to mean less and less for the popular *political* base of the LP has all but disappeared, and without that the union block votes are just so much shadow boxing. If we wish to believe that this change from a political party to an electoral machine (and the fact that it has a working class vote makes it no less of such a machine) will halt, then more convincing reasons must be offered than the good intentions of a handful of left MP's.

Common Purpose and Direction

If this however were the only choice we had, then we might have to pursue it, but it is not.

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Comrade Pearce notes that in the past few years, there has been increasingly militant action across wide sections of society, often those considered the most quiescent. Women, students, immigrants, sections of organised and unorganised labour previously unconsidered like the council workers, the teachers, the postmen, as well as the traditionally militant sections of the working class, have all made many and varied demonstrations. Groups from the squatters to the conservationists have shown how much force can be generated from a community that is threatened. This upheaval provides much of the rationale for the "anti-monopoly" alliance that I have criticised above. It is paradoxical that Comrade Pearce having taken this concept as his political theory proceeds to a political programme that takes no account of it, and indeed differs from our policies of the last 25 years only in emphasising those areas which have met with greatest failure.

Surely the correct procedure is for us to try and understand and analyse the class structure of our society as it is today, in all its complexity, and to plunge into the confusion of present day militancy and try to bring some common purpose and direction into it. This note, limited by space, cannot do more than indicate the direction, hopefully future discussion will take us further. It is unfortunate that the article by Comrade Pearce takes so long to go nowhere.

Joe Berry

In his excellent article on "The Strategy of Socialist Revolution in Britain", (January, 1971) Bert Pearce gives a refreshing appraisal of the basic ideas in *The British Road to Socialism.*

It should be studied and discussed, with the programme, on the widest possible scale, and especially by those active in the mass movement.

For the movement is in the most urgent need of what this programme, and only this programme, provides—a unifying strategy for advance.

What many Communists have yet to appreciate is that here is an extremely useful craftsman-built collective tool for their daily work in the movement. There is no better guide to action from the present scope of class struggle, relating it to the ways and means, stages and forces, by which it can be extended beyond the framework of capitalism, so that the working class movement can understand the need for and character of revolutionary change in Britain.

Therefore, Bert is absolutely correct to insist that it is now, every day, that the fundamental ideas of the perspective set out in the *British Road* must be got across to the most active and deep-thinking workers, to open out their minds to the way ahead beyond immediate demands.

The imperative need for this has been screaming at us for years, with the decline of old industries, mounting unemployment and poverty, and growing crisis in industries based on advanced science and technique, such as aircraft.

Above all, it is demonstrated in the twin menace to the entirety of British life—the super-monopolies' aim to smash free trade unionism and to sacrifice our national sovereignty in the Common Market.

The key question, however, is how these unifying socialist ideas on the way forward for Britain can be most effectively spread and further developed, particularly among decisive sections of the people?

Revolutionary Theory

Obviously, a very much bigger and more influential Communist Party would do this. But it is the fight which the Party puts up to spread the ideas in the programme which will determine the Party's growth in size and influence, and indeed its whole position in the fight for socialism in this country.

As Bert points out, much of the Party has itself not deeply grasped the powerful ideas in the *British Road*, and has allowed attention to be diverted from the relevance of the programme to the critical developments in British politics.

Such diversion is not entirely due to pre-occupation with the fierce controversies on some international issues in the last fifteen years. There are plenty of Communist Party members who are quite pre-occupied with ten bob on the pay and half an hour off the day, to the virtual exclusion of any Socialist politics.

A large part of the answer to the question was given by Lenin, seventy years ago and still very relevant today. He gave it at the same time as he was arguing that there could be no revolutionary movement without a revolutionary theory. His thesis was that the labour movement arises spontaneously, but the revolutionary ideas of Socialism do not. They have to be put into the movement, and it requires the development of revolutionary organisation and leadership to do it.

Role of Communist Newspaper

He then went on to make a powerful case for the essential means for spreading revolutionary ideas and building a revolutionary organisation, so as

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to transform the spontaneous movement into a class-conscious one with a socialist perspective—a national working class newspaper!

Without it, he said, they could not systematically carry on the all-embracing propaganda, agitation and organisation, to create a movement worthy of being called a political movement.

As a collective organiser, he explained, such a newspaper could be compared to the scaffolding erected around a building in construction, which marks the contours of the structure, facilitates communications between the builders, and permits them to distribute their work and to view the common results achieved by their organised labour. Later, he described the workers' newspaper as their tribune, from which should be placed for all to see, the problems of working class life in general and of working class democracy in particular.

He said it was the indispensable means for the working class movement to realise its only source of invincible strength—consciousness of itself as a class and thorough understanding of the scope and significance of the masses in struggle.

How well all this describes the role of the *Morning Star* as the national daily newspaper of the British working class. Of course, this role is fulfilled to the extent that the *Star* reaches out to the working class, especially its decisive leading sections.

For decades the majority of British people have been influenced by the mass communications media pouring out daily the ideology of the monopoly sections of the capitalist class. Equally, for decades the only daily newspaper of the working class has been giving Socialist leadership on all the political, economic and social issues—but reaching only a small section of people.

Year after year it was agreed at Communist Party Congresses that it would be fatal to take the paper for granted, and not build up its readership to the fullest extent of the considerable potential. Nevertheless, year after year the paper in the main continued to be taken for granted and, in fact, the circulation declined.

The "Morning Star"

Then, in November 1969, the 31st National Congress not only again reiterated that extending the *Morning Star* circulation, especially in the Labour and progressive movement, is a political fight of the greatest importance, but also decided that it should be regarded as a task of the highest priority at the centre of all activities.

At the subsequent Executive Committee meeting in January, the kind of campaign necessary for circulation growth from the tremendous potential in the movement, was spelled out in the most specific and comprehensive terms, to make 1970 the "Year of the *Morning Star*".

The result by the end of the year was that enough new readers had been gained to check the decline in sales, but the realistic aim of a substantial increase, for which the political possibilities did exist, was not achieved.

The January 1971 meeting of the Executive Committee drew the correct conclusion that, while even a limited advance was good, not sufficient political conviction on what was at stake had been won. Consequently, there was a failure to break out of routine, give priority to Party work for the paper, and integrate the fight for new readers with all political campaigning.

This is the measure of the political task involved in getting a deep understanding among all on the Left, but most of all the Communists, that the working class movement really needs a large-circulation daily newspaper as a tribune of the people, an agitator, propagandist, leader and collective organiser, for the success of their aims.

It emphasises that very much more daily polemic and debate must be waged to get a burning conviction among leading sections of the Left, both Communist and non-Communist, that their movement can only achieve the next stage of breakthrough industrially and politically to the extent that there is a real breakthrough into an ever-extending circulation of the *Morning Star*.

Unfortunately, Bert Pearce's merest passing mention of the paper towards the end of his 13-page article, is symptomatic of the superficial treatment that it gets in so many articles, speeches, and everyday discussions.

Neglect of Theory

Is the underlying assumption that the role of the *Star* is well understood, and that a brief mention is sufficient as a reminder? Of course, Bert and other leading comrades are well aware that this is not so, otherwise the circulation would be more extensive than it is. Why then is the role of this paper overlooked so frequently, and not yet deliberately, consistently and politically woven into all the fabric of discourse going on constantly about working class problems?

The reason, surely, is to be found at the same source of the failure of much of the Party to grasp the profound basic ideas in its programme—the apathetic neglect of theory traditional in the British Labour movement.

Because of this neglect, the movement has been imprisoned by capitalist ideas, which includes right-wing Labour ideas, and which are all-pervasive. Where the comrades are not influenced by the ideas of creative Marxism, they must be to some degree still under the influence of reformist ideas—which does not make for a burning zeal to spread the fundamental ideas of revolutionary change.

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Consequently, the essence of the 1970 *Morning Star* campaign, which was correctly posed as priority for systematic organised work to convince the active people of the movement to be readers, did not stand a chance of real success unless a fierce battle of ideas on the profound reasons for the role of the paper was fought at the centre of all activities.

There is no basis for assuming that because of the militant and Left development, and because some trade union leaders have acknowledged the *Star's* treatment of the workers' struggles, then the workers will rapidly change over from the "popular" press to the *Star*.

Making new regular daily readers of such a paper requires patient, persistent, political, time-consuming application to the job, and this will not be forthcoming from comrades unless they have a deep sense of conviction that it is well worth spending time in that way, just as many devote vast amounts of time, energy and resourcefulness to winning votes for trade union elections.

Not Spontaneously!

When we get consciousness among our comrades that Socialist ideas will never burst spontaneously into workers' minds, and that the fruits of their sterling work on economic issues would be enormously enhanced if a growing number of their fellow trade unionists were reading (for example) James Klugmann's brilliant articles in the *Star*, then we will find the powerful ideas of the *British Road* germinating and ripening in the fertile soil, which Bert so rightly says exists in the working class. Substantial growth of *Star* readership among the potentially decisive Left-moving sections of the working class, will provide the basis for them to be aware of, and then accept as their property, the unifying strategy of the *British Road*, which Bert so rightly says is the key to our problems today.

Further, only such *Star* growth will provide the impetus for the next stage of advance of the Party in significant growth of size and influence, which Bert so rightly says is essential for the present Left movement to develop into a decisive political force that can carry British politics to a new turning point. Even more, were such *Star* growth to embrace all Party members not yet convinced of the need to be daily readers, and if the paper were more fully read and used as educative material, then understanding of our programme by the Party membership would appreciably increase.

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Now on its twentieth birthday the need for such a readership, and the potential for it in the main industrial enterprises and the great centres of population, is bigger than ever. The problem is primarily a political one, of waging a determined battle of ideas, to uproot the take-it-for-granted attitude, and plant a principled attitude that regards the paper in the Leninist context of being a political tool of mass struggle.

The challenge is that, however large the numbers organised in the labour movement, unless it is influenced directly by a daily newspaper devoted to socialism, it is likely to be a giant in mental chains, paralysed by the confusion spread by its enemies.

Approaching our 32nd Congress, it is time we really faced up to this challenge, and fought tooth and nail throughout the Party to solve the problem.

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Trends in British Psychiatry

Florence Keyworth

It was good to read in the January issue of *Marxism Today*, the article by Bruce Burns on "Trends in British Psychiatry", an important subject which has been given rather sparse treatment in the past.

His exposure of the immensity of the problem and of the suffering caused by social distress in capitalist Britain was timely. But the therapeutic trends which Dr. Burns describes are those with which he is himself in sympathy. May we now have an article by someone who is equally expert but who holds different opinions?

Dr. Burns believes that psychoses have a physical basis and that severe stress in childhood does not cause psychosis in adulthood. His emphasis is on physical methods of treatment—electroconvulsive therapy and drugs. He believes that in psychosomatic diseases, the psychological disturbance occurs as a consequence of adjustment to the disease and not vice versa.

His views on the causes of the neuroses and on their treatment are less clear but throughout his article, he is scornful of those doctors who use psychotherapy, which he dismisses as "discourse" or "talking".

He would thus appear to dismiss the possibility, in the treatment of neurotics, of uncovering unconscious activation in human conduct, and he presumably rejects the possibility of the individual neurotic gaining insight into his problems and achieving personal growth with the help of psychotherapeutic techniques.

Discuss all Trends

My own standpoint is that of the interested layman and I am quite unqualified to cross swords with Dr. Burns myself. I believe that some medical man or woman of equal standing with himself should do so. Dr. Burns' views, of course, are important and interesting. We should not, however, be left with the impression that they represent the "Marxist" view of the subject and that the views of psychiatrists who do not share his opinions are "non-Marxist". Psychiatry is surely one of those many subjects about which Marxists may disagree, amicably among themselves. If laymen are to get a more complete picture, it is necessary that we should discuss all the "British trends" and not just those of which Dr. Burns approves.

One section of his article struck me as being particularly unfair. When dealing with the neuroses, he accuses those people whom he calls "purveyors of mental health" of seeking "to distract attention from the basic shortcoming of capitalist society based on the economic exploitation of man by man". No doubt among those practising psychoanalytic and related techniques are people of all political views, including some who accept capitalist values. To make such a blanket accusation, however, is totally unjustified.

My own interest is in an American "trend" represented by the theories of the late Karen Horney who founded a post-Freudian school of thought in the United States. One of the basic beliefs of this school is that our "competitive culture" is responsible for the growth of neuroses in our society. Karen Horney also believed that, as Dr. Burns says, personality is "pliable and a product of society" and spelt out her views in her work *The Neurotic Personality of Our Time* published as long ago as 1937.

Against Dogmatism

It is important that we should realise the vastness and complexity of this subject and that we should not imagine that the achievement of Socialism will quickly solve neurotic problems. We have before us all too many grim examples of the way in which neurotic ambition and pursuit of power have been among the forces responsible for large-scale crime in the Socialist countries.

All the more reason therefore, for not closing our minds to any theories—whether they be those adopted by Dr. Burns or those of other psychiatric schools of thought.

Our principles in this matter were outlined by the executive committee of the Communist Party in its statement *Questions of Ideology and Culture* published in 1967. This stated, in a section entitled "Against Dogmatism": "The Communist Party does not and will not attempt to 'lay down a line' on science, to forecast the results of scientific research, or decide questions still under investigation. It considers that this is the field of scientists themselves and encourages the confrontation of conflicting approaches as an integral part of science".

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